

Human rights dilemma

President Carter has yet to evolve a balanced policy on the delicate issue of human rights. That he has strongly stressed his intention to speak out forthrightly and unequivocally against repression abroad is all to the good. The United States should not hesitate to make its position known when it deems this appropriate. It has failed to do so all too often in the recent past, leaving an unfortunate impression of American indifference to civil liberties.

But herein arises the dilemma. When is a public, official statement appropriate? When the American government begins speaking out about human rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with increased frequency, does this in fact improve the situation for Soviet dissidents there? Or does it simply help to aggravate the atmosphere with Moscow to the point where normal economic and other relations are impaired — despite Mr. Carter's determination not to "link" these issues? And where it invites further repression?

Drawing the line is difficult but each case must be carefully weighed. The question, it seems to us, is whether an official pronouncement will improve the situation for the individuals being repressed. When the level of publicity gives them immunity from repression, it can be counted helpful. When it oversteps that fine line where the Russians or others feel challenged and therefore clamp down even harder, it has become counterproductive.

At the moment the diplomatic atmosphere seems to be steadily deteriorating over the human-rights issue. The Russians and Czechs have been cracking down on dissidents and Western newsmen — clearly in violation of the Helsinki declaration. Yet American official pressure does not seem to have alleviated the situation and in fact have drawn an angry blast in the Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda. Will further public statements help? Or is Mr. Carter better advised to turn to private diplomacy and pressure? Surely he is in a position to tell the Russians that, while he does

not link human rights and SALT, many members of Congress do and that an arms agreement may be difficult to get through the Legislature for this reason. Similarly, he can make clear that it will be difficult to foster economic ties if the overall climate is strained because of the human-rights issue.

Under most circumstances we have felt that more can be accomplished through such "quiet diplomacy" behind the scenes. Yet we realize this policy runs the danger of not doing anything at all. In such case no one knows the difference and the U.S. Government is absolved of responsibility. During the Kissinger era human-rights issues were often ignored or subordinated because the Secretary of State felt larger issues were at stake.

There is reason to think this will not happen in the Carter administration. It is an article of faith with the President to show concern about the yearnings of people around the world for greater freedom. This is admirable and proper. But he will have to learn to do this with a sense of balance, to know when a public pronouncement can be diplomatically effective and when a private approach can be more fruitful.

It is in fact the Soviet Union that faces the greater dilemma. The men in the Kremlin cannot but be unhappy about the growing restlessness in Eastern Europe. Even Romanians now are issuing human-rights appeals.

With time there will be more and more internal pressure for freedom. The Soviet Union will be put more and more on the defensive in the eyes of the world. In this situation President Carter will have to be careful not to allow his actions to be misinterpreted as a threat to the Soviet regime or as interference in its internal affairs — while at the same time vigorously keeping alive the hope of freedom for all peoples by whatever means of moral support he deems helpful.

It will require deft diplomacy.

Cultural lift for Africa

After 29 days of almost constant activity, the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture, known as FESTAC, is over, and the verdict of those on the scene in Nigeria is that it was a success. This is a tribute to the host nation, for there were times when it seemed as if FESTAC would never get under way. As it was, the expense to Nigeria for accommodating over 15,000 performers and scholars from 36 nations has been very great.

The recompense of course is that the celebration not only provided spectacles of color and massiveness, such as the regatta of 200 double-decker canoes carrying drummers, dancers, and warriors as well as paddlers, or the grand durbar near northern Kaduna, a pageant of horsemanship, FESTAC had its more serious side too, centered on a colloquium where 700 participants presented papers or lectured on such subjects as a common language for Africa, elimination of foreign influence and reintroduction of tribal institutions, and

emphasis on the family as society's basic unit.

Not surprisingly for an undertaking of this magnitude, FESTAC was disorganized at the outset, and some complained there was so much activity that no time was left for the visiting artists to learn about one another. The Nigerian Government however stepped in to correct some of the organizing mistakes, and FESTAC village near Lagos thrived with opportunities for get-togethers virtually around the clock.

Aside from providing entertainment for Nigerians and their guests, including a number of African heads of state and the new chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations, Andrew Young, the festival symbolized the sense of pride in their heritage as well. This common identity made FESTAC possible and helped keep it going. As black Africa's most populous nation — but one still facing great internal difficulties — Nigeria deserves credit for carrying through an ambitious undertaking.

Those cooings from Cuba

It will not happen tomorrow. But with both the new Carter administration and Cuban leader Fidel Castro making cooling sounds to word each other, it is only a matter of time before the United States and Cuba move toward a normalization of relations. The trend is inevitable and welcome. If Washington can maintain ties with the Soviet Union and other Marxist regimes, it does not make sense to perpetuate a state of hostility with its nearby Caribbean neighbor. Détente ought to be a universal not a selective policy.

That said, however, it is clear that the American people will not accept a restoration of full diplomatic relations before they are assured on the problem that concerns them the most: Dr. Castro's apparent determination to assume leadership of Marxist revolutions in the third world, even to the extent of using Cuban troops in such places as Angola. For the United States this poses no little dilemma, especially in southern Africa where a ravaging civil war threatens if a peaceful solution to the racial problem is not found. The Cuban leader

must realize that it will be difficult to convince American public opinion of the merit of doing business with Cuba if Cuban troops, financed by Moscow, are seen helping a communist-orientated guerrilla war against white minorities there.

On the other hand, if Dr. Castro, who already has reduced the number of troops in Angola from a high of 16,000, to about 8,000, today shows restraint — not only in Africa but in Latin America and Puerto Rico — the way can gradually be opened to rapprochement.

This delicate question will have to be explored by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in the months ahead. Meanwhile it is quite possible for Washington and Havana to take steps short of diplomatic recognition that will help build confidence and relax tensions. These include extending the anti-locking agreement, due to expire April 15, and working out arrangements under which Cuban fishing will be permitted within the 200-mile fishing zone to be established off the United States coast.

Of primary interest to both sides is trade,

"The tree was full of snipers, so we cut it down. Now we have to cut it up"



Spain: more restrictions fall

The land that General Franco once ruled is moving steadily ahead with long-overdue democratic reforms, despite efforts of extreme rightists to stent the tide. One by one, the restrictions imposed on Spaniards during the Franco years are being lifted. The latest step is the easing of the political association laws in ways that will legalize most of Spain's political parties, including perhaps the Communist Party there.

This of itself is a major, significant move. It shows the determination of the reform-minded government of Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez, backed by King Juan Carlos, to put Spain's house in better order before the national parliamentary elections scheduled for this spring. It also hints that the military establishment, formerly firmly opposed to legalizing the Communists, may be accepting a role of standing more aloof from politics. It says something,

too, about the Army's increasing loyalty to King and Prime Minister.

Alongside such internal developments, establishment of diplomatic relations between Madrid and Moscow comes as no surprise. Even under Franco, Spain had opened a trade mission in the Soviet capital. The meaning of the diplomatic rift with Moscow was forestalled by the recent normalization of ties with the communist nations of Eastern Europe. Thus, after nearly 40 years, a page of Spanish history now has been formally closed.

The ultrarightists do not like the resumption of Soviet ties, especially since nothing was included about returning the 510 tons of gold shipped to Russia during the Spanish Civil War. The Madrid government's explanation is that it has not renounced claims "by one side against the other," and officials may be right in guessing that negotiations for the gold, now estimated to be worth \$2 billion, are proceeding faster with diplomatic relations restored. Moscow's contention however is that the military and more, was used to finance military and Spanish left-wing forces opposing Franco in the civil war.

Spanish Communists meanwhile are not being given a completely free hand in Spain. Once the party applies for legalization, the government can turn the decision over to Spain's Supreme Court. For now, the party is subject to international law and "attempt to implant a totalitarian regime."

Spanish Communist leaders are not party to this description, but it remains to be seen if the court would accept that pretension if confronted with a decision. As matters now stand in Spain, neither the nor left factions are getting all they want despite some violence. The government is solidifying its position, and Spain is undergoing a pressing struggle along the road to democracy.

U.S. foreign policy

Carter has world guessing and gasping

By Joseph C. Harsch

American foreign policy under Henry Kissinger was a one-ring, one-man circus. It is turning out to be a different matter under Jimmy Carter. Not in the memory of diplomats in Washington has American foreign policy been so briskly active on so many subjects — all at the same time.

During the recent presidential campaign Mr. Carter spoke of putting "architecture" into American foreign policy. If he has a master blueprint from which he is working he has not shown it to us yet. We do not see the shape of the intended structure. But he has taken the initiative on so many matters that he has already reversed the relationship of the United States to the outside world.

Under Dr. Kissinger Washington was most of the time reacting to what other people did. Under Mr. Carter others are busy wondering how they should react to what he is doing or saying.

Considering that Mr. Carter has been President of the United States for a mere five weeks, the number of foreign policy subjects he has opened up is truly astonishing. He has the State Department, the embassies in Washington, and, one assumes, the foreign ministries of the whole world, gasping — and trying to keep up.

His initiatives have already touched détente, arms reduction, black and white Africa, the Western alliance, Panama, Cyprus, the Middle East, Canada, Mexico — and Cuba. There is a hint also that the United States may be hedging on Ethiopia (which Washington has been supporting), by improving its line of communication with Somalia (which Moscow has been backing). China has not been forgotten.

The manner of the handling of the Cuban relationship explains why the diplomats are breathless. Mr. Carter brought the subject up, at all places, the Department of Agriculture, in Washington. He was making one of his "let's get acquainted" visits there. As though by accident he tossed off a remark that he had heard that Fidel Castro might be thinking of bringing his soldiers home from Angola. If true, said Mr. Carter, and if Mr. Castro would also desist from further troublemaking in the Americas, and be more considerate of his own people at home — then it might be possible to move toward "normalizing" relations between Washington and Havana.

*Please turn to Page 11

Devolution: down but not out

Self-rule bill for Scotland stalls in Parliament

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London

The British Labour government has suffered a stunning — if although perhaps temporary — setback for its plans to give a measure of self-government to Scotland and Wales.

Sources close to Prime Minister James Callaghan were quoted as saying that despite a parliamentary vote last week defeating government plans to ration debate on the self-government bill, the government intended to soldier on.

It has three major alternatives. It can continue debating the bill clause by clause in Parliament. It can scrap the bill and call referendum in Scotland and Wales to ascertain whether there is a clear majority for self-government. Or it can follow suggestions of the opposition Conservative and Liberal parties and summon an all-party conference to settle the question.

Most political analysts believe that the devolution bill — as the self-government measure is known here — has no chance of getting through Parliament in its present form.

This means that Scotland and Wales will not be able to set up self-governing regional assemblies next year, as the bill proposes. The Labour Party will have to fight the next general election (which must be called by October, 1979) without having enacted one of its made campaign pledges in the last election (1974), and in the knowledge that the blame rests mainly on the 22 Labour M.P.s who voted against their own government.

The debate-ratting motion was defeated by 312 votes to 283, with 22 of the 29 votes opposed coming from Labour. Without debate-ratting (or a "guillotine" as the procedure is known here) the bill has no possibility of being passed during the current session of parliament.

In turn, government plans for legislation to hold direct elections for a European Parliament next year have been placed in jeopardy. Britain has agreed with other members of the nine-nation European Community for a directly elected European Parliament in 1978. As with devolution, this is an issue which crosses party lines and on which members hold strong feelings. If 22 Labour members are willing to defy their own government (and another 15 abstain) on devolution for Scotland and Wales, how many would desert the government over a European Parliament?

*Please turn to Page 11



On Edinburgh's outskirts
By Gordon N. Conners, chief photographer
What is down the road for Scotland — and Wales?

Cuba's silent army spreads across Africa

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Cuba's military presence in Angola has gotten the headlines, but Western intelligence sources are keeping their eyes on Cuban activities elsewhere in Africa.

These sources say Cuba currently maintains 3,000 or more soldiers in at least six other African nations — the Congo (Brazzaville), Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Somalia. And Cubans may be in half a dozen other countries.

Even without the soldiers still in Angola, the Cuban strength in these countries makes Cuba the major foreign military force in Africa.

This newspaper has learned that although there has been a net withdrawal of Cuban soldiers from Angola in recent months, some of

the departing soldiers have been replaced by fresh troops. Moreover, there has been a buildup of Cuban civilian personnel in Angola, particularly since Angolan President Agostinho Neto visited Cuba last July.

The number of Cuban soldiers remaining in Angola at this time is hard to ascertain. It could be as few as 8,000 or as many as 15,000. One problem in getting a fix on the present size of the Cuban contingent is that Washington is not clear how many Cubans were in Angola at the height of the buildup in mid-1976. The number may have reached 20,000 to 22,000, although that would mean that one-fifth of the Cuban Army was in Angola alone.

Determining the size of Cuban units elsewhere in Africa is clouded by the relative difficulty of obtaining intelligence from many African lands.

But this much is known, say intelligence sources here:

Somalia: By far the biggest Cuban buildup outside Angola is in this East African land. Some 1,500 Cubans are serving as military advisers and Army field corps engineers, running military hospitals, and advising guerrillas. They are not engaged in combat.

Mozambique: Perhaps as many as 1,200 Cubans are involved in training guerrillas for operations in Rhodesia. There is no evidence that they have been involved in any of the Rhodesian guerrilla operations.

Congo: Ever since the Angolan buildup began in October, 1975, the Congo has been used as a staging area for Cubans and as a replacement depot for material. At least 1,000 Cubans are thought to be there today. The number could be closer to 1,500. Some may have served in combat in Angola.

Guinea: Perhaps 300 Cubans serve as palace guards for Guinean President Sekou Toure. They or others have been there for five years or more. The Cubans also serve as military advisers to the Army.

Guinea-Bissau: This west African land, served as a transshipment point for Cubans on the way to Angola in the early stages of the buildup, and hundreds of Cubans were stationed there temporarily. A contingent of perhaps 500 remains. They currently assist in the occasional arrival of Cuban air transports, as well as advising the local constabulary.

Equatorial Guinea: Close to Angola, this coastal nation in central Africa also was a staging area during the Angolan buildup, but it is no longer used quite as extensively. Perhaps 300 Cubans still serve in a variety of advisory capacities there.

*Please turn to Page 11

King Kong rules French cinema

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

French moviegoers, possibly the most avid in the world, appear to be changing their ways. It is causing some concern among theater owners, and possibly more important, is helping to stir new resistance here to what many people consider the encroachment of too much foreign influence on French language and culture.

After increasing for two straight years, cinema attendance dropped more than 2 percent in 1976, down from more than 180 million spectators in 1975 to 179 million.

What caused special notice was that while attendance was going down at French-made films, the number of people going to see American, British, and Italian films continued to increase. These figures were announced just as French songwriters were holding a press conference to complain that radio stations were discriminating against them in favor of always popular American and British music.

The film situation becomes clear when one looks at the list of the top attendance-galleries for 1976. They were "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" and "Jaws," each with more than 1 million spectators. A French-made comedy placed third.



*Please turn to Page 11

Highlights



MARCEL MARCEAU. Mime is not just wordless acting. The world's greatest mime discusses how his ideas affect performances. Page 18.

FROM INDIA. One of Mrs. Gandhi's political opponents talks about his problems, but also expresses confidence in the fairness of the coming election. Page 31.

AMERICA'S BUDGET. To reflect a Carter philosophy that the place to trim the budget is not "where it hurts the poor the most," the President has revised the 1978 budget (prepared by ex-President Ford). Page 10.

BRAZIL'S IMPOVERISHED NORTH-EAST. The wealth of one of the world's richest nations, is spread across what it is like to live in one of its poorest pockets. Page 16.

Index

ARTS	23
BOOKS	22
COMMENTARY	31
EDUCATION	25
FINANCIAL	13
HOME	19
HOME FORUM	28, 29
PEOPLE	18, 19
SCIENCE/ENVIRONMENT	20
TRANSLATIONS	26, 27
TRAVEL	24

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PUBLISHING SOCIETY
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FOCUS

Is that you again, Holmes?

By Judith Fruttig

Watson: It was toward the end of September, 1887, that this adventure of Sherlock Holmes took place. . . . Holmes sat at his desk. I sat reading a rollicking new story in which the storm it described seemed to come alive . . . outside our flat at 221-B Baker Street. . . .

Sound: Loud potter of rain against windowpane, wind blowing furiously . . . then [the] sound of a very distant bell.

Watson: That sounds like the downstairs bell, Holmes. Who would call on such a night -

- from "The Five Orange Pips," a new radio adaptation of the Arthur Conan Doyle classic.

Hollywood

In an air-conditioned sound studio just off Hollywood's Sunset Boulevard, thunder is clapping, Big Ben is gonging, groundhog swirling, stairs creaking, shadows lurking - and Sherlock Holmes, the master of the complicated clue, is beginning to unravel another mystery.

For American radio fans, Baker Street is back - in a new form. It is a 30-week, half-hour series called "The Sherlock Holmes Radio Theatre." It is being recorded here for national syndication on commercial radio next spring. The shows will offer new scripts, a new musical theme, stereo sound effects, and new stars: Edward Mulhare

(as Holmes) and Ben Wright (as Dr. Watson).

To the show's creator, actors, and producers - and interested network programmers - the programs may well signal the latest step toward the return of radio as a dramatic medium. CBS stations, for example, began syndicating in 1974 an early evening prime-time mystery theater; today, some 25 stations carry it. Based on that success, the network Feb. 12 launched a second series called the "General Mills Radio Adventure" with stories intended for children.

"If enough stations got behind it," Hartford Weedin, CBS chairman of network programming for the West Coast said of radio theater, "we could make a success of radio drama."

Holmes: . . . Draw up your chair to the fire, and let's get on with your problem. John: First of all, sir, my name is John Openshaw . . . what is happening is so far beyond my experience, that I find myself unable to cope.

"John" is played by Michael Anthony, a 19-year-old broadcasting student, who conceived the idea of an updated Holmes.

The project began when Mr. Anthony wrote and produced 12 one-hour scripts. John: . . . I have already opened it. Look inside (rattle of paper). . . .

Watson: What's in it, Holmes?
Holmes: Just what was in the other box, Watson - five orange pips. . . . On the inside, three red letters. . . .

The original Holmes was a popular weekly show which ran from 1941 to 1956. It starred Basil Rathbone (as Holmes) and Nigel Bruce (as Watson). The new series is being monitored by Glenhall Taylor, the director of the 1940s production.

To an observer at a recent Sunday afternoon taping session, the production is full of style and a twist of British humor (during the introduction, Watson chuckles and notes: "Perhaps - to make things clear for my American friends - I should remark that 'pips' are 'seals'").

Holmes: Did you notice anything about the postmarks on those letters?
Watson: Well, one was from Pondicherry, in India . . . the second from Dundee, in Scotland . . . and the third was posted right here in London.

Holmes: Very good, Watson. . . . But I fear you've missed the common denominator. . . .

While the new Holmes is built around mellifluous voices, and stereo effects, its strongest ingredient, according to William Baer, the show's executive producer, is balance. "That's the wonderful thing about radio," he said. "You have to use your imagination."

Holmes: . . . And now, I shall address the envelope (sound of writing). Then . . . I shall place the five pips inside . . . I have spun the web, well, Watson. . . . I have spun it well.

Music: curtain

You can't run your fingers through a tax cut, say Britain's unions

By Francis Renny
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

There is a real possibility that Chancellor Denis Healey's hard work in getting the IMF (International Monetary Fund) to agree the Pound will be undone by the talk of a few trade union leaders. Steeper falls in the London Stock Market Index and in the value of Sterling are more possible in these early weeks of 1977, than in any period of 1976. The cause of it all: maneuvers around Phase Three of Labour's Pay Policy.

Phase Two, the 4½ percent ceiling, ended in July. But much sooner must come the Chancellor's national budget. Mr. Healey would like

of reward. But then, what union grieves for management?

Anyway, the unions are less tempted by the tax cut bill than Mr. Healey might have hoped. For a start, it is part of socialist doctrine that cuts in public spending are blows at the working class. If taxes are cut, there will be less for schools, hospitals and job-providing nationalized industries. Tax cuts, by Marxist definition, are always seen as putting money into the pockets of the well-to-do. And they are vague, insubstantial things that you can't count into a man's hand like pound notes.

The benefits of a tax cut vary from person to person, according to family circumstances, and not from union to union.

Part of the frustration of the national incomes policy has been that union leaders have been unable to face their members and say "Look what I alone have won for you alone!" It has all been handed down from on high, the same for everybody. Almost enough to make one's members question the value of paying their subscriptions.

And so the battle cry has been "A return (or controlled return) to free collective bargaining." By which is meant the happy days of not so long ago when employers "bought off" their employees with 30 percent wage increases, and the government happily printed the banknotes to meet them. With results Britain has still to recover from.

By no means all union leaders are idiots, however (that word coming from the Greek *idiot*, meaning one who thinks only of himself). They acknowledge that money not earned is hollow money. But, they add, workers will not increase their output under present circumstances unless it pays to do so. What they want is freedom for incentive payments, and for skill to be rewarded.

On more doubtful economic ground they go on to argue that it is simply not proved that higher wages are the cause of higher prices. And at the moment, compared with most of her European partners, Britain's wages are impossibly low, and her prices low enough to bear some increase, and still remain competitive.

One after another the key unions have jumped on the free collective bargaining

wagon: car workers, miners, electrical transport workers - no leader who does not want to be left behind by his followers can keep solidarity with the other unions; but he doesn't trust them not to do his men in the scramble.

And encouraged by the Bennites and other leftists on the Labour Party's extreme, many union leaders are questioning what they do to thank the government for anything? One and a half million unemployed, and rising? Poverty still at fifteen percent, and rising? Foreign cars taking more than 40 percent of the domestic market, and rising?

To quote the eloquent Mr. Clive Jenkins, wide-collar union leader: "The feedback from our members is that enough is enough, and there won't be any deal with the Chancellor over tax concessions; that won't help our members."

All of which would be splendidly appropriate for Mrs. Thatcher and her Tories. Traditionally the party of discipline, the Tories have learnt their lesson from the Heath experience and are not married to a rigid wage policy.

Their problem is how to promise to give deals free (freedom has always been a Tory battlecry) without ruining the pound in the foreign exchange market. Part of the answer may lie in finding some way of making tax cuts look "sexy" to the unions.

Mrs. Thatcher's latest economic speech explored the ground. Referring to Mr. Healey's promises she claimed that three years of the "buy rule" had increased the tax bill of the average family by almost £600 a year. "Without improving the social services," she said, "the international debt, rising at a rate of living, or thinking, is better off in a sense whatever."

There was loud applause from the pious, south-of-England audience, but it can't help wondering whether Mrs. Thatcher would really like to take over the present reckless state of the private sector. She would not. But the decision may be made by the Tories' foreign creditors, not domestic politicians.

Danish premier faced with delicate balancing act

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The Danes have returned their Social Democratic Prime Minister, Anker Joergensen, to office with his party getting a bigger share of the seats in Parliament than it had before the Feb. 15 general election. It will now have 65 of the 179 parliamentary seats, instead of the 53 it had before.

Mr. Joergensen said: "We are very happy. This makes it better to solve our problems." And then he went to see Queen Margrethe to inform her of his plans to achieve for his Cabinet a broader base of support among the many parties in Parliament. (There were 10 before the recent dissolution.)

But whatever Mr. Joergensen works out, his is still likely to be at best a minority or shaky coalition Cabinet. Sixty-five seats in a Parliament of 179 seats is far short of a majority for the Social Democrats. Consequently, the Prime Minister is going to need all the balancing political skills he has shown in the past to maintain support in his lack of Denmark's grave economic problems - particularly after the current national wage agreement and price freeze expire on Feb. 28.

A disillusionment

Danes have a highly developed social conscience, a keen sense of fair play, and a deep commitment to democracy. This helps explain the proliferation of parties in the Danish Parliament and (conversely) the disillusionment among many voters about the failure of traditional politics and politicians to come up with effective solutions to Denmark's growing economic problems.

This disillusionment helps explain too the new lease on life given to Aage Lunde's Progress Party, which first burst on the scene in the December, 1973, general election, in which it won 28 seats. In the January, 1975, election the party's total fell to 24. In this year's election, Mr. Lunde's party won 41

least 26 seats and becomes again the second biggest party in Parliament. (The big losers were former Prime Minister Poul Hartling's Liberal Democrats, whose number of seats fell from 42 to 21.)

Mr. Lunde first captured the imagination of many Danes by campaigning for the abolition of income tax and boasting of how he had enriched himself by income-tax evasion. (For this election campaign, he got a three-week break from the government's long court case against him on tax evasion charges.)

Ironically, Feb. 15 is the filing deadline for income-tax returns in Denmark. Some commentators suggested that holding the general election on that date was bound to help Mr. Lunde more than anybody else.

Economic support sought

The election was called by Prime Minister Joergensen not because of any defeat in Parliament but because he could not get broad enough support for the economic package he was trying to work out - particularly in the area of housing policy. The election results have not radically changed the outlook for him. He remains Prime Minister. He will still have to canvass the support of other parties for his policies - which are unlikely to be popular because he will be unable to avoid belt-tightening. But the voters have strengthened his hand a little, suggesting that when it comes to a showdown, the Social Democrats enjoy broader support than any other single party. Their usual position in postwar Danish politics.

Of the three Scandinavian countries, Denmark is the most immediately affected by outside changes in the world economy. It lacks the industrial strength of Sweden. It has no North Sea oil, as has Norway. It has its farm exports. And it has its high-class beautifully designed modern furniture and home equipment. But these latter exports depend on a thriving economy in potential export markets - and that has not been the case in the past few years.

Of the three Scandinavian countries, only

Portugal: refugees cheated

By Helen Gibson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Snowballing revelations of fraud involving millions of dollars of government refugee aid funds have confronted Portugal's Socialist government with its first major scandal.

The Socialist newspaper A Luta broke the story, claiming that more than \$47 million were siphoned off the \$285 million spent by the state to house and feed the 650,000-odd refugees who fled Portugal's former African colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

The newspaper said that at least \$15.6 million have been pocketed by hotel and boarding house owners using false receipts and by racketeers running slum housing for vast profits off the government's expense. A Luta said that further large-scale frauds were perpetrated by officials who were falsifying the records in IARN, the government's refugee aid institute.

Much of this refugee aid comes from foreign governments, with a contribution of some \$35 million from the United States topping the list.

Triggered by probe

The scandal broke following the findings of a government inquiry into the accounts kept by IARN. Since then, there have been newspaper allegations that part of the money was used to finance mercenaries in Rhodesia, that a \$30,000 bribe was offered by one IARN official to the police, and that three men have died in the past week in mysterious circumstances.

Government officials admit that there has been large-scale fraud practiced, but police say there is no evidence that there is murder involved or that the three men died by the hands of British or foreign predators. The newspapers had anything to do with the scandal.

dal. They do admit, however, that attempts were made to bribe a member of the police.

IARN has been the focus of controversy since it was set up two years ago to cope with the sudden arrival of thousands of refugees. Refugees have constantly accused the administration of siphoning off money intended for them, but little notice has been taken of them in the past. There is also no doubt, however, that some of the refugees themselves are heavily involved in the racket.

Refugees also have complained bitterly about their lodgings. But they have received scant public sympathy, mainly because attention has always been focused on the several thousand billeted in the country's luxury hotels.

Cellar housed 24 refugees

But investigations now are revealing that it is common to find houses like one in the luxury Lisbon suburb of Cascais, where 24 refugees were crammed into a cellar room and where the landlord charged the government \$3,000 a month.

The reports of the scandal apparently encouraged one group of refugees to take direct action over the problem they were having in getting their subsidies from the government. About a hundred of them picked up sticks and occupied a tourist village in the southern Algarve scheduled to be filled by an international group of yachtsmen. They were dispersed eight hours later by armed national guardsmen and soldiers, but threatened to return if they were not paid the three weeks of food subsidies owed them.

These funds were normally distributed by the management of the Vilamora tourist complex, but were halted when IARN stopped providing the money.



Christiansburg Palace Copenhagen

By Garrison N. Converse, staff photographer

Where Queen Margrethe received her newly re-elected prime minister

Denmark is a member of the European Common Market. West Germany's close association with Denmark in the market has helped it, and one does not hear many Danes arguing

against membership. But there are Danes in some of the splinter parties who want to cut Denmark's defense spending within NATO because of the financial pinch at home.

France teeters on the verge of anti-terrorism pact

By Jim Brownlog
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Despite the controversy over France's release of suspected Palestinian terrorist leader Abu Daoud, West European countries are moving ahead with important new anti-terrorism measures.

These are the first steps in what West German and French police officials hope will be shift international provisions to ensure the extradition of accused terrorists and to reduce their ability to win concessions from governments by hijacking airplanes and taking hostages.

Seventeen of the 19 members of the Council of Europe including France signed an anti-terrorist treaty Jan. 27 at council headquarters in Strasbourg, France.

A still stronger treaty is being drafted by the nine-nation European Community (Common Market).

The purpose of both treaties is to avoid situations such as the Daoud affair. Under the Council of Europe's treaty, each signatory country promises that if it is holding a man accused of committing an act of terrorism in one of the other countries, it will either extradite him or try him itself.

The treaty has been criticized by civil libertarians, who say it could be a vehicle for government repression. Acts classified as terrorism, they point out, almost always have a political side, and treatment of political crime is seldom cut and dried.

The treaty tries to get around this question in an unusual way. Signatory nations simply agree to consider all terrorist violence as non-political crime. The list of such crimes in

cludes airplane hijacking, taking of hostages, kidnapping, bombing, and even the ample use of arms.

That has left the French Government still divided over how to react.

France has a law dating back to 1927 which rules out extradition of accused criminals "whose crime or infraction has a political character." France's 1958 Constitution explicitly recognizes the right to political asylum in France, a right which has been enjoyed both by refugees from East European and Asian countries and by left-wingers accused of terrorism in Spain or fleeing the military government in Chile.

Critics of the treaty point out that it also permits governments to decide on their own to consider that any violent act against persons or property is by definition not political and therefore subject to the terrorism treaty. At the extreme, they argue, it would permit governments to control all but the most peaceful opposition by groups who feel they are oppressed.

All nations who sign the treaty have the right to adopt it only in part when their parliaments ratify it, which the French say will permit them to modify sections they do not like.

The Daoud affair appears to have increased their reticence over the treaty.

In an apparent effort at compromise, lobbyists have been written into the text permitting a government wide room for its own interpretations. Any government can still dispute in any specific case, despite its treaty obligations, not to extradite someone because the issues involved are political.

In France, with its political risk, observed one French diplomat, there is always disagreement about what is a legitimate political action and what is a terrorist crime.

Europe

Bukovsky: dissident with a difference

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Vladimir Bukovsky, the Soviet dissident whom the White House has announced will meet President Carter this week, is a young man of sharp wit and intense eyes despite years of detention in psychiatric hospitals and prisons.

Asked during his recent stay in France what he thinks of the "socialism with a human face" that European Communist parties say they want to build, Mr. Bukovsky answered:

"All that interests me is the human face." Mr. Bukovsky refuses to be categorized. Unlike other dissidents, who remain idealistically committed to devoutly religious, his sharpest trademark is his humor.

"Whoso camp do I fall in?" he mused the other day. "The concentration camp."

In conversations with journalists and friends in France, the Soviet biologist has indicated that he plans three kinds of activities during his exile in the West:

• He has begun describing himself as a "spokesman for political prisoners," a role he sometimes played by maintaining contact with foreign journalists while he was in Moscow. "My comrades from Vladimir prison and myself have given some thought to a statute for political prisoners," he said in a recent interview with the French magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur*.

"I have decided to try to win its adoption by

all the world's countries, and I hope to be able to go to find out about the situation of political prisoners in other countries."

• He advocates action by private individuals. He credits world public opinion for sparking his release by Moscow in December in exchange for Chile's release of Chilean Communist leader Lula Corvalan.

• He wants to pursue his interrupted biological studies at Cambridge University, England.

Will he leave? "I don't think I know enough yet that anyone can learn from me," he explains. His recent lectures to groups such as the British Parliament have been on political questions.

Mr. Bukovsky has said that Western leaders have been naïve and impatient in their relations with the East.

The 1975 Helsinki declaration, he says, was followed by an increase in harassment and ill treatment of dissidents in Eastern Europe despite the declaration's provisions on human rights and political prisoners. He believes that Western governments must be firm and consistent if they want to see results.

"There will be no changes unless this firmness is maintained with perseverance," he told one French journalist. Mr. Bukovsky supports such measures as the Jackson amendment to the U.S.-Soviet trade bill, which required an increase in exit visas for Jews desiring to emigrate.

He charges that American-made goods are used for repressive purposes by the Soviets.



Bukovsky: 'I ask that you not sell us handcuffs'

"The West has... sold computers 'made in U.S.A.' as well as the handcuffs that the KGB (Soviet secret police) put on my wrists in the airplane which took me to Zurich," he alleges. "I am not calling for a blockade, but I ask that you not sell us handcuffs. In both the literal and the figurative sense."

Mr. Bukovsky has a passport good for five years. Unlike exiled Soviet author Alexander Solzhenitsyn, he could conceivably return to the Soviet Union when he likes.

His English is excellent, although a bit stiff. "We were taught from a very formal texts," he explains.

In his interview with *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Mr. Bukovsky said dissidents seek as a form of defense.

"Do you know the story of the pessimist and the optimist who meet," he asked. "The pessimist says, 'things are horrible, couldn't be worse!'"

"Yes, they could," replies the optimist.

Britain's Foreign Secretary: how he looks, what he sees

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

British Prime Minister James Callaghan, a master politician, has surprised his fellow-politicians and taken a finely calculated risk by appointing Dr. David Owen as Foreign Secretary.

Dr. Owen, the youngest British foreign secretary since Anthony Eden, succeeds Anthony Crosland, who passed on Feb. 18.

Dark-haired, with rugged good looks, Dr. Owen was a practicing physician until he entered Parliament in 1966. A convinced pro-European, he belongs to the Labour Party's moderate or right wing, a group that has been weakened by Mr. Crosland's passing and by the departure of former Home Secretary Roy Jenkins to head the European Commission (the Common Market's executive) in Brussels.

"Firm on principles, flexible on details" is how one parliamentary colleague characterized Dr. Owen. At a hastily announced press conference Feb. 22, Dr. Owen fielded with tact and good humor a host of questions thrown at him on subjects as diverse as Rhodesia, human rights, and the strains of office.

He said he sees human rights as "indivisible," whether they concerned the Soviet Union or Uganda. There is a strong piece for declara-

tory statements on the subject, he continued, but they had to be well-judged and a balance had to be struck.

On the tangled issue of Rhodesia, which Mr. Crosland was working when struck by illness, he said there was "no option I wouldn't entertain" if there was any hope that it would lead to a settlement.

Dr. Owen, who has been the senior minister of state in the Foreign Office since last autumn, has a busy schedule ahead of him. Britain is currently chairman of the nine-member European Community, which means Dr. Owen must preside over sessions of the Council of Ministers through June. He will also have to accompany Prime Minister James Callaghan to Washington March 8, prepare for the NATO foreign ministers' meeting in London in May, the Western economic summit President Carter has proposed, and the Commonwealth prime ministers' meeting in London in June.

Like his predecessor Dr. Owen has a lively American wife, Deborah, who is a literary agent working out of their home in the east end of London. Like his predecessor, he spends most weekends commuting to his constituency, which appears to be distant Plymouth. But "I'm not tired," he told journalists, "I'm bursting with ideas and initiatives."



Owen: 'I'm bursting with ideas'

Dr. Owen's appointment bypasses a whole generation of moderate Labour politicians in their 40s — such luminaries as Prices Secretary Roy Hattersley and Transport Minister

William Rogers, and even Education Secretary Shirley Williams. Labour moderates now a bright new candidate for the primeiership — a man young enough to sit at next leadership contest or even the one after that (Dr. Owen is 38).

For this reason, Mr. Callaghan's decision must cause some tension among those moderate supporters who at least temporarily appear to have been sidetracked. The new prime minister has taken on, therefore, a future dissonance in a Cabinet that has a remarkable cohesion hitherto.

Mr. Callaghan has carefully balanced Dr. Owen's appointment with others that add to his wing strength within the Cabinet. Mrs. Thatcher, left-wing member of the party's shadow executive, has been given back her old job as Minister of Overseas Development, and other left-winger, Frank Duggan, becomes minister at the Foreign Office, the job Dr. Owen held at the time of his promotion to secretary.

Denis Healey, who was to have exchanged his tuxing job as Chancellor of the Exchequer with Mr. Crosland later this year, will stay on at the Treasury. His Deputy, Peter Expenditure, Joel Barnett, has been given a new rank while remaining in his post as chief secretary to the Treasury.

Cyprus: no solution near despite summit talks

Agreement interpreted in different ways

By Sam Cohen
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Experienced diplomats in Nicosia see no prospect of an easy and an early settlement of the Cyprus problem.

They hold to this view despite the recent summit conference between Cyprus President Makarios and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş.

The agreement reached at the summit on the resumption of "intercommunal" talks in Vienna next month and on guidelines for these talks is considered encouraging. But the funda-

mental views of the two sides remain unchanged, these diplomats say.

Only a few days after the Makarios-Denktaş meeting there were indications that both sides had different interpretations of the principles and criteria accepted at the summit.

For instance, they differ on the concept of a bi-communal federation. Archbishop Makarios told this correspondent in an interview that he had accepted the principle of a bi-communal federation at the summit as a concision. But by this he did not mean the establishment of two separate states. "Bi-communal is one thing, bi-zonal is another," he said. "Cyprus can be bi-communal and yet there could be two, three, or four zones. All this is subject to negotiations and depends on other arrangements and an overall agreement."

On the other hand, Mr. Denktaş said: "Bi-communal federation cannot have any other

meaning than bi-zonal. If other ways than a bi-zonal system are sought in Vienna, the intercommunal talks will lead nowhere."

A similar misunderstanding exists concerning the term "unitary state." President Makarios wants the projected federal system to be based on a strong central government "to preserve the character of a united, single state." He added: "We will never accept a system of two separate states that amounts to a confederation."

Mr. Denktaş does not use the term confederation, but comes out strongly against the term "unitary state" and insists on a loose central government.

The two sides differ deeply on the most thorny aspect of the whole problem: the territorial question. The nub here is how much of the territory now under Turkish rule should be returned to the Greek side.

On the basis for bargaining the return of land, property, economic viability, and population. So far the Greek Cypriot side has insisted on a prior agreement on the return of land to be returned. The Turkish Cypriot side should retain 20 percent of the territory, which represents the population of the island.

Despite these differences, qualified observers here feel that several factors are encouraging the desire for a settlement. "Whatever their motives, both sides are inclined to sit and talk," and this is a significant development, said. "The road to a solution is certainly a hard one. Both leaders have been very hard on it, and they would not try to lay it at a time when they are actively engaged in a

Training for a peacemaker: what Mideast taught Vance

By Daniel Southard
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Damascus, Syria
U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance ended his mission to the Middle East hopeful of getting the main parties in the Arab-Israeli dispute to the conference table in the latter half of this year.

But in a news conference shortly before his return to the United States, Mr. Vance cautioned against overoptimism.

There was good reason for this word of caution. In the course of his one-week trip to six Middle East countries, Mr. Vance found everywhere an expressed desire for peace and a pressing need to cut huge military defense budgets, but he found, too, no apparent softening in the deep feelings of fear and mistrust with which Arab and Israeli leaders regard each other.

In the view of many observers who are not party to the conflict, the key "confrontation" states of Egypt and Syria have now acknowledged that Israel, in one form or another, is here to stay. This is seen by these same observers as a change in attitude of historic importance.

Secretary of State Vance is said to accept the sincerity of the Arabs on this point. But the Israelis see it differently. While they recognize what they describe as "tactical changes" on the part of the Arabs, they believe that the Arabs remain intent on eventually destroying Israel.

The Arabs, for their part, continue to regard Israel as a "militaristic and expansionist" state with no interest in negotiating on what they consider to be the basic issues.

It is the persistence of feelings such as these — "gut feelings" as one Middle East expert puts it — which makes some Americans despair of reaching the "conceptual breakthrough" regarded as necessary to push the

parties to the conflict past procedural roadblocks on the way to a Geneva conference and beyond. Geneva, in their view, might turn out to be only the barest of beginnings on the road to peace.

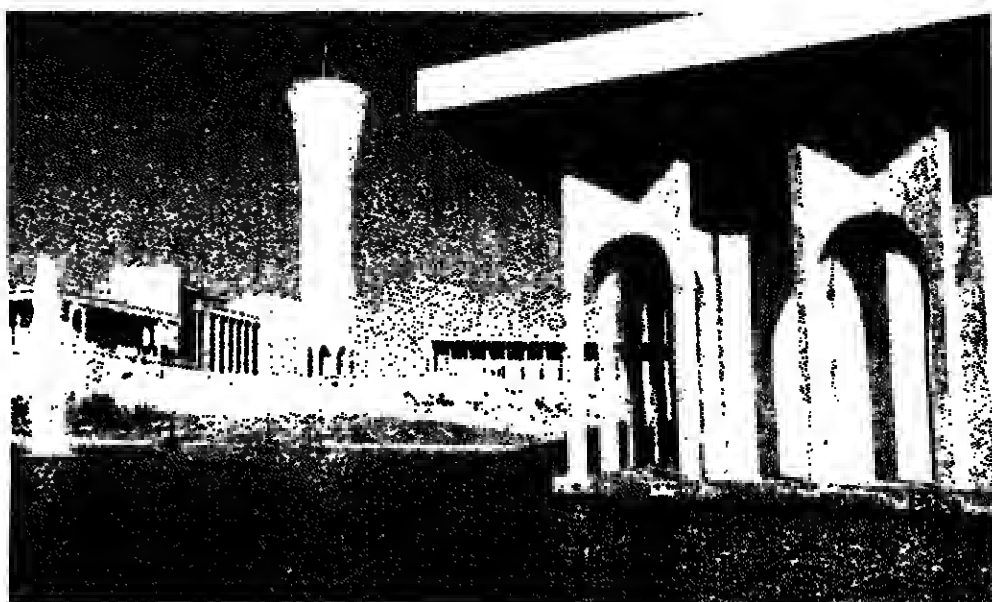
Mr. Vance found that thanks partly to shipments of highly sophisticated weapons to Israel by the United States, Israel's current military position is far superior to that of the Arabs. This is a factor which may encourage Israel to stall on substantive negotiations — the Arabs say — unless the United States brings heavy pressure to bear on the Israelis.

The way in which the two sides define an eventual "peace" remains a key problem. The Arabs see it as a cessation of hostilities with the possible "normalization" of relations to follow at some unspecified point in the future. The Israelis' position is that peace has to mean the acceptance of Israel through diplomatic and commercial relations among other things.

But just getting to the conference table will be difficult enough. Here the main problem remains the status of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Experts say the main Arab parties seem to be moving toward a convergence of views on this issue with PLO representatives to be linked with a Jordanian delegation. But Mr. Vance said that during his trip he had detected no progress on this issue as far as the divergence of Arab and Israeli views is concerned. The official Israeli position is that Israel cannot permit itself to negotiate with a "terrorist" group whose declared intention is the elimination of Israel.

Middle East experts say that it would be too early at this stage to expect the PLO to go so far as to renounce completely provisions in the organization's covenant which call for the destruction of the State of Israel.

The Egyptians and Syrians are putting heavy pressure on the PLO to come up with moderate declarations at its National Council meeting, scheduled to be held in Cairo next month.



University of Petroleum and Minerals, Dhahran

By Gordon N. Converse, staff photographer

The new Saudi Arabia: pressure for U.S. goodwill — and action

But they apparently fear that if they push too hard there will be a Palestinian extremist reaction which would undermine their efforts.

In the meantime, no one expects substantive progress on any of the issues until Israel holds its national elections in May.

American officials said that Mr. Vance has not yet come up with any fixed ideas on what the American approach should be. He has been exclusively engaged, they said, in "absorbing" ideas and positions put forward by the Arab and Israeli leaders.

On the positive side, Mr. Vance has achieved the modest aim which he set out for himself before undertaking this, his first overseas trip as Secretary of State: he has indicated to leaders in the Middle East the importance which the United States attaches to a peaceful resolution of the conflict; gathered views of the region's leaders first hand; and begun to establish the personal relationships with those leaders which are considered so important in this part of the world.

Immediately before coming here to Damascus, Mr. Vance was in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, for talks with Crown Prince Faisal. (King Khalid is in London receiving hospital treatment).

There, the Secretary found Saudi Arabia, which has assumed increasing importance as the main financial supporter for the Arab confrontation states, united perhaps as never before with the Egyptians and Syrians on approaches to a peace settlement. This apparent Arab unity is one of the factors which give some observers the impression that the potential for peace in the region now is greater than it has been in a number of years. But, according to some sources, it is also one of the things which has the Israelis worried.

At his press conference in Damascus, Mr. Vance quoted Syria's President Assad as saying of their meeting: "There's no substitute for having a man face to face and having a chance to look him in the eye."

He said that Mr. Assad impressed him as being "deeply committed" to achieving a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict.

In a press conference in his town, Mr. Assad said that Mr. Vance "has left a positive impression on me."

In answer to a question, the Syrian President firmly rejected the idea of giving up in negotiations "even a single inch" of the Syrian territory which is now occupied by Israel.

Saudi mission to visit U.S.A.

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
A high-powered team of Saudi Arabian businessmen, university professors, and government officials is on its way to the United States shortly to convince Americans to increase business and human contacts with the Arab world.

Their leader is Dr. Abdel Rahman al-Zamil, the soft-spoken, U.S.-educated dean of Educational Services at Saudi Arabia's University of Petroleum and Minerals here. Dr. Zamil, who headed a similar Saudi mission to the U.S. two years ago, conferred with Saudi Crown Prince Faisal and government officials about the trip in Riyadh, the Saudi capital, a fortnight ago.

Dr. Zamil, who has helped to recruit many of the more than half-American faculty of the University of Petroleum and Minerals here,

says he is excited by the prospect of "meeting everyone we can, from U.S. Cabinet officers to ordinary businessmen and students." During their seven-week tour of most of the American states, the Saudi study team intends to be available for lectures, seminars, and informal discussions with anyone who wants to talk to them about U.S.-Arab relations and doing business in the Arab world.

Most members of the team are already associated with the expanding American business and technical ventures which have brought over 30,000 Americans to live in Saudi Arabia. They intend to project the political message that speedy Arab-Israeli peace negotiations are a must. They contend that the American Congress ought not to thwart U.S. business in Arab states by passing projected legislation outlawing compliance by U.S. firms with Saudi and other Arab rules connected with the Arab economic boycott of Israel.

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Asia

For China: year of the thin snake

By Ross H. Munro

Peking
As the Year of the Snake began Feb. 18 the people of China were celebrating what for most of them is the longest vacation they ever have — three days off work.

The Chinese new year, renamed Spring Festival by the Communists, is usually a time when families buy additional and better-quality food and drink as well as a few new clothes and maybe an item or two for the home. But this Spring Festival seems to be one of the loneliest in many years.

After the political turmoil of the Year of the Dragon with its widespread industrial disorder, as well as the Tangshan earthquake, the Chinese economy is weaker than usual. Chinese officials seem much more cautious when they talk about the economy than they were during the heady and optimistic days following the purge of the radicals last October.

This abstract picture of a troubled economy has become more real during visits to Peking's markets and stores over the past 10 days. Most goods are usually scarce in China, and lines of people waiting for them are often long, but these days the goods appear scarcer and the lines longer.

The official Chinese news agency claimed this week that more port and fish are available in Peking this year than at the same time a year ago. But a visit to the markets finds the port is extraordinarily fatty, and most of the fish is salted, bony, long, and thin and appears to have been in storage for a long time.

Those foreigners who have made a practice of observing the markets at Spring Festival say the quality, variety, and amount of food all have declined compared with 1976 and 1975.



Food in China's shops is down in quantity and quality

Since Peking's markets are considered the best-stocked of any in China, the implications for the rest of the country are bad.

If one spends a couple of hours on Wang Fu Ching, the main downtown shopping street, the picture of too many people chasing too few goods quickly emerges. When a glass-enclosed fruit stand opens for business with a few new crates of mandarin oranges for sale, passersby run to get in line.

Sometimes clutching each other to guard against queue-breakers, many will wait an hour or more before they can hold out their plastic handbags so that a clerk can dump in the oranges.

Up the street, another hubbub. A truck carrying 14 desks is arriving at a furniture store. A writing surface, a drawer, and a storage cabinet — rough wood covered on the top and sides with cheap plastic sheeting. The men on the truck do not even bother to take them inside; they simply line the desks up on the sidewalk.

Three store clerks standing guard tell the quickly gathering crowd that the price is \$30. Even though this is about the average monthly wage for a factory worker, there is a rush into the store to pay cash. Within 20 minutes the desks are all gone.

The impression grows that there are people

In Peking whose occupation in life is simply to prowling the shopping districts with plenty of cash in their pockets on the lookout for a new item of goods that can be quickly resold.

The crowds of anxious shoppers on Wang Fu Ching are just a surface reminder of China's economic slump.

Words like slump must be taken relatively, some economists argue. After all, there has not been a significant rise in real per-capita income since 1957. But the past year or more, with its combination of political upheaval and natural disaster, has seriously affected the economy, particularly in certain sectors and regions.

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Politics, not mother, would be candidate Sanjay Gandhi's power base

By Mohan Ram
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi

Sanjay Gandhi, the controversial younger son of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, is seeking election to the Indian Parliament next month not so much as a bid to succeed his mother some day as to assert his right to remain in politics.

The younger Gandhi long has been the target of opposition attacks, but lately he has been the cause of dissension in the ruling Congress Party as well.

Described by critics as an "extra-constitutional power center" built up by his mother, he has been charged with translating his own personal views into government policies and decisions. The critics repeatedly have charged that although he had no official standing in either the government or the party, he was making and announcing decisions on the government's behalf.

(Mrs. Gandhi) has responded to these criticisms in a variety of ways. Early on, she said that attacks on Sanjay were, in fact, aimed at her. Lately she has been denying that her son was making decisions for her or issuing orders to other government officials. Sanjay, she said, had to enter politics because the opposition had made him the target of attack.)

The younger Gandhi received the nomination to represent the district of Amethi in the northern State of Uttar Pradesh after a flap in the Congress Party. Its own youth wing, which claims a membership of 5 million people, sought no fewer than 200 out of a total of 542 places on the March ballot. Such a bid, if successful, would have changed the complexion of the party's representation in Parliament and, inasmuch as the youth wing is led by Sanjay Gandhi, it would have given him a powerful political base.

But in a dramatic move, Food and Agriculture Minister Jagjivan Ram — until then the strongest likely contender to succeed Mrs. Gandhi — quit both her government and the party. One of the issues he raised in the process was the Youth Congress (as it is popularly known) bid to bypass senior members of the party. He called on these veterans to put a stop to what he termed authoritarian trends in the party as well as in India at large.

Mr. Ram's move underscored tensions in the party. Particularly galling to party dissenters was the alleged bid by the Youth Congress to establish an identity independent of the parent organization and to relegate jostling veterans to the political wilderness. The party leadership felt compelled to take

action, and as a result the Youth Congress wound up with no more than a dozen nominal members.

The decision to sidetrack the Youth Congress following the Jagjivan Ram revolt reportedly demoralized Sanjay Gandhi's lieutenants. The timing of the announcement of the nomination made it apparent that it had little to do with the Youth Congress claim to more than one-third of the nominations.

Assuming he wins, the younger Gandhi's future role depends not so much on the strength of the Youth Congress as it does on the support he is able to command among other new members of Parliament from his party. There will be no "youth power" of persuasion in the new Parliament.

Sanjay has launched his election campaign in concert with his mother, whose own constituency is next to the one he would represent.

China's most popular heroes: Chou gains favor, Mao slips a little

By Ross H. Munro
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor
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Peking: The late premier Chou En-lai is being elevated almost to the level of the late chairman Mao Tse-tung in the Chinese Communist pantheon.

Mr. Mao and Maoism are being played down. It depends on one's perspective.

Photographic exhibits at the National Minorities Cultural Palace reflect the posthumous near-equality of the two leaders who passed on last year. The main floor is devoted to an exhibit on Mao's life and the mourning for him, while the second floor offers a similar arrangement for Chou.

This has been Chou's town for a long time, and the crowd reactions at the palace, which is actually an art gallery, prove it. On the main floor, crowds of Chinese betraying little feelings of any kind look casually past photographs portraying Mao's life.

But upstairs it is a different scene. The crowds are two or three times as large as those on the floor below. The people cluster

around the photographs of Chou, studying them intently.

Peking is the heart of the Chinese bureaucracy, and it was the bureaucrats above all who looked up to Chou as their man. He was their model — handsome and urbane, a skilled administrator and politician, yet with revolutionary credentials. He also was their patron, protecting them as best he could when the radicals came too close for comfort in the Cultural Revolution (initiated by Mao in the mid-1960s) and the subsequent rebuilding of the bureaucracy once it was over.

The photographs show Chou as a man who effortlessly could establish rapport with people, a social man of easy physical grace, relaxed and good-natured, talking or joking with young people and factory workers.

In contrast, in nearly all his photographs Mao sits or stands alone, posing stiffly. The preponderance of photos showing him alone is partly due to the fact that most of his close associates since the early 1960s, who might appear in photographs with him, have been condemned as counter-revolutionaries.

The photographs of Mao and the reaction to them also reinforce the impression of many

observers that a wide gulf had developed between him and the people in the last decade or more. While people may deem him worthy of worship, they may still see him as distant, unpredictable, and perhaps a little too demanding.

There is one photograph in the Mao exhibit, however, that attracts great interest.

In its original form it showed the top leadership, including his widow and three other left-wing radicals, later known as the "gang of four" and purged, bowing their heads in mourning ceremonies last September.

The four radicals crudely have been brushed out of the photo, leaving the "gaps in the leadership." Those gaps, the photo seems neither shocked nor amused nor dignified. History, after all, is often altered to suit the current political line. The people simply are curious about how the radical feat of wiping out their former leaders has been accomplished.

India newspaper sales booming

New Delhi: Newspaper sales in India have boomed since the announcement of general elections last month and the lifting of press censorship.

The Indian Express has reported the most spectacular rise, with the circulation of its New Delhi edition more than doubling to 75,000 and still going up at a rate of 5,000 copies a day every week.

The Statesman, another newspaper which successfully fought off government pressures during the 18 months of strict press censorship, has increased its sales in New Delhi by half to around 50,000 daily. Its main circulation edition of close to 200,000 is published in Calcutta.

The first newspaper to admit a drop in circulation is the staunchly pro-government Hindustan Times, which sells throughout most of northern India from New Delhi.

South Africa

Soweto: after the smoke — electricity

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

After the riots in Soweto last year, two simple suggestions were made to improve living conditions in that black township near Johannesburg. The suggestions were not contrary to the government's system of apartheid, or legalized separation of the races.

One was to introduce electricity to all of Soweto. The other was to build desperately needed homes.

There is good news about the electricity. But the word about the homes is not so good.

Four banks have agreed to put up a loan of 50 million rand (\$57.7 million) to light up the entire township. (At present only one-ninth of Soweto has electricity.) Talks are to be held this week in Cape Town with the government to clinch the plan.

The proposal was initiated by business — mainly Roberts Construction and a big electrical firm, Siemens (Pty), Ltd. Reportedly Anglo American also was involved.

The four banks — Barclays National, the Standard, Volkskas, and Nedbank — have agreed in principle to make the loans if they are guaranteed by the government.

The loan proposal has been well received by blacks. "It should have happened long ago,"

The need for new houses is just as urgent. The average number of people in one home reportedly has risen from 11 to 16 in the past few years. This reporter has met one woman who lives in a four-room house with 28 other people.



Electricity will soon help lighten the load throughout Soweto

said Ev David Nkwe. "For years students have had to learn by candlelight."

The black newspaper, World, revealed recently that residents applying to buy homes were being charged about 80 percent more than the prices announced six months ago. A standard four-room house jumped from 2,205 rand (\$2,639) to 4,160 rand (\$4,784).

The World said that to build a four-room

house with an outside toilet costs 1,350 rand. Such a house is offered for sale at 2,160 rand.

Selling has been suspended until the government sorts out the prices.

The issue of houses for blacks in urban (theoretically white) areas is a tricky one for the Nationalist Party government.

Under apartheid, blacks are not considered

to be permanent dwellers in urban areas. They are only allowed there to serve whites as laborers. Technically each black is supposed to belong to a tribal homeland, although many have never seen one.

Therefore, the issue of allowing blacks to own their own homes on a leasehold basis is coming close to admitting the permanency of blacks in the so-called white areas.

Between detentions, time to win top journalism award

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

Peter Magubane is reluctant to talk.

This black South African news photographer has spent 583 days in solitary confinement in prison without being charged, has been deprived of his passport, been humiliated (heavily restricted for five years, been beaten by police for trying to do his job, and his house has been fire-bombed and ransacked).

But those events are not what make Mr. Magubane reluctant. They only make him cautious.

His reluctance is a deeper thing, related to the way he works as a photojournalist.

Mr. Magubane is one of the most outstanding photographers in this country, according to one of his bosses, Benjamin Pogrand, assistant editor of the Rand Daily Mail, an independent English-language newspaper.

"He ranks among the world's best. He is that rare thing, a thinking photographer," Mr. Pogrand added.

Mr. Magubane recently won South Africa's top journalism prize, the 2,500 rand (\$2,876) Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery Award for enterprising journalism.

After he was presented the award Feb. 21, Mr. Magubane said the public and press should fight to ensure that newspapers were free to do their job without state interference.

The government is in the process of passing

legislation that will severely restrict the press in cases of internal unrest. The bill containing the censorship provisions went through its second reading in Parliament on the day Mr. Magubane received his prize.

This was Mr. Magubane's 15th award since he started learning photography at Drum magazine in 1955. He used to spend the night in the darkness at Drum's offices in Johannesburg because he worked so late that transportation back to the black township of Soweto had stopped running.

His latest award was for his photographs of the unrest in the townships of Soweto and Alexandra last year.

During his work then, he was detained under the Internal Security Act (no charges are required under this act) and released on Dec. 28 after 123 days.

Raymond Louw, editor of the Rand Daily Mail, said that Mr. Magubane nearly lost his life on two occasions while taking pictures last year, once at the hands of blacks and once with police.

"Peter has had about every nasty thing done to him this government is capable of doing, but he has never been found guilty of a thing," Mr. Pogrand said.

Yet Mr. Magubane persists. He is back at work, and he does not want to leave South Africa.

"It is my country. My people need me, black and white... and I need them," he said.

Of his solitary confinement for more than 1 1/2 years (he was allowed books only the first three months), Mr. Magubane said: "I am not angry. I am a person prepared to compromise. I don't believe in black government or white government. I believe in multiracial government."

Asked how more government censorship of the press will affect his work, he said: "I will still go out and tell the truth. I don't want to be biased."

"Then it is up to the editors to publish or not," he added.



Magubane: 'thinking photographer'

He confirmed reports from other journalists to this reporter that the Rand Daily Mail (along with other newspapers) had turned over negatives of last year's disturbances to the Cillia commission, a body set up by the government to investigate the riots. Police can then blow up the negatives and pick out the participants.

"I think it was a very wrong move," Mr. Magubane said without a trace of anger.

Mr. Louw said that the Mail agreed to cooperate with the Cillia commission, although it is a one-man commission without an outside observer, because it was trying to ascertain the facts and because newspaper readers would accuse the Mail of being against finding out the truth behind the riots.

He said that the photographs given to the commission would normally have been published in the paper.

United States

CIA bribes: were they worth the money?

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Has the Central Intelligence Agency's alleged bribing of foreign leaders really served American interests?

That is the question beginning to be asked in the aftermath of disclosures that the super-secret agency may have paid millions of dollars over the past two decades to at least 17 present and former foreign dignitaries. The answers are mixed.

In the short term, the uncovering of the CIA's apparent overseas bankrolling — designed to bolster American interests abroad — is achieving just the opposite. The nation's relations in many parts of the globe have been strained by reactions ranging from disbelief to dismay.

Most of the leaders reportedly assailed, nonetheless, have been influential moderates who probably helped bring stability to world hotspots — such as Jordanian King Hussein in the Middle East, former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt along Western Eu-

rope's border with the Soviet bloc, or Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta in volatile Africa.

But other CIA bribery "investments" seem, in retrospect, to have paid questionable dividends.

The corruption and misrule of former South Vietnamese Presidents Ngo Dinh Diem and Nguyen Van Thieu, both alleged recipients of CIA funds, complicated American assistance in the Vietnam war.

Former Mexican President Luis Echeverria Alvarez irritated the United States during the

closing years of his presidency by frequently leading third world criticism of his own neighbor.

And Guyanese Prime Minister Forbes Burnham — whom the CIA ironically helped put in power 12 years ago, now has established the only avowedly Marxist state in South America.

Such checkered results, not to mention moral issues, are prompting Washington policymakers to reevaluate the entire CIA payments program.

Former CIA Deputy Director Ray S. Cline supports it as "a morally defensible philosophy of covert military action."

But President Carter, who during his election campaign called for more "openness" and "moral authority" in American foreign policy, is said to have halted payments to King Hussein shortly before they were disclosed.

The President also ordered an "intensive and comprehensive" review of foreign intelligence operations.

If true, the CIA payments represent a public governmental counterpart to the more than \$200 million in questionable payoffs overseas admitted in the past two years by at least 12 U.S. private corporations.

Other foreign leaders reported to have received CIA bribes include:

• Middle East: Cyprus's President, Archbishop Makarios.

• Far East: The late Nationalist Chinese President, Chiang Kai-shek; exiled Tibetan, the Dalai Lama; the late South Korean President Syngman Rhee; the late Philippines President Ramon Maguiness, and former Thailand police chief, Gen. Phum Sritayudh.

• Africa: Zaire President Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko Konde Ngbendu; leader of a pro-West faction in the Angolan civil war.

• Latin America: Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez (when he was interior minister); former Chilean President Eduardo Frei Montalva.



Central Intelligence Agency building, Washington, D.C.

Barbed wire doesn't keep the money from flowing out

By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Congress gives itself a pay rise

Color their faces red and their wallets full

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
The nation's lawmakers have started collecting a self-bestowed 28.9 percent pay raise — in the wake of a controversy more vexing to many of them than some of the monumental issues facing the nation at large.

However, an estimated 30 of the 535 senators and representatives plan to return the \$12,800-a-year salary hike (from \$44,600 to \$57,400) to the federal Treasury. One will earmark his to be applied against the \$600 billion national debt.

In addition, Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D) of Colorado says she will donate hers to Denver charities "where it will be put to better use."

Rep. John T. Rousselot (R) of California intends to accept part of the raise. But he will give to charity the portion which would push him into a costlier tax bracket.

Many others, like Sen. Clifford P. Hansen (R) of Wyoming, will register their complaint, while grudgingly pocketing the money (as he explains) "like everyone else."

It is the first pay raise for Congress (and 22,300 other top federal officials) since a modest 5 percent cost-of-living sweetener two years ago.

Despite the absence of a straight yes-or-no vote in either house of Congress — through adroit juggling of the legislative calendar and parliamentary rules — the issue sparked the first furor of the nearly two-month-old Congress.

Mull from the voters back home has been heavy and hardly sympathetic. "We've had more mail than we can possibly answer from

across the country," says an aide of leading pay hike foe Rep. Charles E. Grassley (R) of Iowa.

President Ford recommended and President Carter has supported the salary increase, which is a modification of a proposal made in December by the Commission on Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Salaries, known also as the Quadrennial Commission.

Nonetheless, some members of Congress are publicly critical of legislative leadership for not insisting on House and Senate roll-call votes on the Ford recommendation, which automatically takes effect in the absence of a congressional veto.

Polls both inside and outside Congress are in agreement that the public opposes the raise. (By a lopsided margin of 5,810 to 1 in an opinion sampling by a newspaper in St. Petersburg, Florida.)

Why pay went up starting Feb. 28 — in the absence of a vote by either house within the preceding 30 days allowed by the federal salary machinery — inspires two conflicting interpretations.

One is that a majority in Congress, opposed to the raise, has been denied a chance to vote it down. "A majority probably would vote against it," claims one opponent. "If given the opportunity."

The other explanation is that a majority privately recognizes the need for a raise, but also the political peril of voting for it.

"Even though many of them know in their hearts that a pay increase is justifiable," says Senate majority leader Robert C. Byrd (D) of West Virginia, "the simple fact of the matter is that they realize such a vote is not popular back home."

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Drought blotting up U.S. flood threat

By Richard J. Catlin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago
The potential for flooding from spring thaws in the eastern two-thirds of the United States has been greatly reduced by prolonged drought and low river levels, U.S. weather and Coast Guard experts say.

Some state and federal officials have been concerned that the recent lull of freezing weather might lead to flooding in the area south of Lake Erie.

However, the break in the winter weather brought on major flood problems, and none are foreseen later on, says Capt. John Mihalbauer of the U.S. Coast Guard's Ninth District, which includes the Great Lakes.

"It was feared the recent warm spell would affect towns on Ohio River tributaries in eastern Ohio, West Virginia, and Kentucky," says Lyle Denny, Agricultural Weather Service expert. "But then the weather cooled, and the rain was light. A heavy or moderate rain on top of the thaw might have produced floods."

The potential for a large thaw runoff — such as led to the severe Mississippi flooding in 1973 — is nonexistent this year, Mr. Denny says.

A similar lack of urgency over flood prospects is reported by the U.S. Coast Guard Second District in St. Louis, which includes 22 states from the Ohio and Mississippi River Basins north to the Canadian border, and west to the Missouri River Basin and the Rocky Mountains. The district monitors these mighty waterways south to Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

"The Ohio and Mississippi Rivers are quite low due to the drought the past couple of years," says John Wahl, spokesman for the Second District.

He explains that the Mississippi of St. Louis is 35 feet below flood stage and no flooding is foreseen along its banks.

"There were some problems of ice gorging [ice piling up in narrow waters to form dams] on turns back up the Missouri. But that was a few weeks ago, in remote, unpopulated areas," Mr. Wahl says. "The Ohio River also is low. The main problems we foresee are in the small back-area tributaries to the larger tributaries."

Mr. Denny says precipitation has been moderate in the winter east of the Rockies.

Except for western New York and parts of New England, snowfall has not been greater than normal he says. But the winter has been cold for a prolonged period, so the standing snow has persisted.



Telescopic view of the sun — seen in light given off by hydrogen

Hale Observatory

Forecast from the sun: possible long drought in U.S. West

Precipitation has been less than normal in the upper Mississippi and Missouri Basins, and far below normal on the east slopes of the Rocky Mountains.

Extreme drought conditions are posted for critical parts of the Mississippi's headwaters — from northern Wisconsin through Minnesota to parts of the Dakotas.

In the East, too, rivers generally are low, snow levels moderate, and precipitation less than normal. A recent warming released

much of the snow buildup that resulted from the long winter freeze.

A spokesman for the National Weather Service says that snow melt-off presents little flood danger to coastal New England. Recent warm weather brought the snow levels down to a normal level, he says.

In western New England and west of the Upper Appalachian Mountains, heavy snows have produced the country's greatest potential for flooding, Mr. Denny says — but the dangers do not appear great by historical standards.

Teen-agers swing to new beat — rock and shock

By Judith Frolig
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hollywood
To those who have heard it, punk rock is a rebellious hard-driving form of rock music that is just beginning to surface in this country.

The bands who play it — in nightclubs here in Hollywood and in New York City — emphasize personality rather than musicianship, and spent youth rather than creativity. Because of that — and because of the nature of the punk rock message — there is a bad-tempered and often violent atmosphere at concerts, and concerned civic and religious groups are trying to stop this new music before it becomes a national fad.

The aesthetics of punk rock include: an abundance of alcohol; short hair; often dyed orange or green; ill-fitting clothes such as low-cut overalls, tattered suits that have been ripped to pieces and reassembled with safety pins, bizarre jewelry, chains, Nazi insignias, and pierced earrings made from bent safety pins.

The appeal of the music to teenagers appears to be its shock value to adults.

"This is our music," explained Janet Legat,

an unemployed waitress who dropped out of high school last year in her fifth year. "It expresses... what we feel," Miss Legat said, and four friends had just emerged from a nightclub on Hollywood's neon-lit Sunset Strip. They had been listening to a local Los Angeles punk-rock group called the Runaways.

Opposition to the new musical trend is coming from strong and vocal religious groups. In Chicago the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson's civil-rights group, People United to Save Humanity (Operation PUSH), has begun a major drive to tone down or eliminate the suggestive lyrics of "sex rock." Most recently PUSH has called for establishment of "ethics review boards" in the 12 leading radio markets to bestow ratings on records just as the Motion Picture Association of America does on films.

Meanwhile, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) has begun a new look at record lyrics, noting — according to Variety — a rise in popularity of drug and sex-related lyrics. Its Radio Code Board has reminded NAB membership of rules discouraging indecency on the air.

And off-the-air a coalition of women's groups has attacked album jackets and promotional materials featuring sexual and other violence against women.

Rev. Jackson frequently lambasts the "sex

rock" influence on youth (especially blacks) and suggests that such institutions as church, school, and family have been "displaced" by TV and radio, which have not taken on an "ethical responsibility" commensurate with their new power.

Punk rock emerged for the first time last fall in the working-class sections of London (with groups known as the Sex Pistols, Eddie and the Hot Rods, and the Damned). Now it is leaping into U.S. discotheques and night clubs with home-grown groups both here in Los Angeles (Quick, the Runaways, and the Boys) and in New York (The Ramones, Patti Smith, and Blondie).

So far, there have been no major punk rock promotions here.

There is talk among Miss Legat's friends that a punk rock festival may be held here in the spring. But if a similar festival held in London last September is any indication, Los Angeles law-enforcement officials will greet such an event with strong troops and little enthusiasm.

The London festival, held in a night club, and featuring four of London's biggest punk-rock groups, was cancelled on the second day after a young man in the audience was badly injured by flying glass.

United States

Slamming the door on illegal immigration

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
"Illegal immigration to the United States is hopelessly out of control. The immigration laws of this country are unenforceable."

Who says that? Leonard F. Chapman Jr., former Marine Corps commandant and now commissioner of immigration. Although he is repeating statements of alarm he has been making with increasing emphasis around the country, there are signs his warning now will get a bigger audience.

• Attorney General Griffin D. Bell gave tentative approval in a speech in San Francisco to legislation to make it illegal for employers knowingly to hire illegal aliens.

• Mexico's President José López Portillo declared here that Mexico will do what it can to stop the biggest source of illegal immigration, over the Texas border.

• A recent report by former President Ford's attorney general, Edward H. Levi, estimates several million persons a year emigrate to the United States illegally.

• Continued unemployment of U.S. workers of around 8 million closely matches the 8 million illegal aliens now estimated in the country. Most of the illegal aliens, Commissioner Chapman says, either have or are looking for jobs. Commissioner Chapman, who still carries the martial bearing of the Marines, says that "a silent invasion" of America is occurring which he has not the forces to stop. It's not just from Mexico, he told a Monitor reporter: in the Atlanta district alone last year, he says, illegal aliens were uncovered from 72 of the world's 140 countries.

"We estimate there are six-to-eight million illegal aliens here," he said, "and that number is increasing by a half-million to a million each year. The immigration service arrested 900,000 in 1975, and we are only skimming the surface."

Commissioner Chapman's warnings are supported in the moderate-toned report of Mr. Levi's "committee on illegal aliens."

The report notes that "legal immigrants" now account for about "30 percent" of the current U.S. population growth. "Legal" immigration theoretically is limited to around 400,000 a year, but the illegals "run to several million yearly."

This works out at around two or three illegals for one legally admitted.

"The problem is growing in magnitude year by year," Mr. Chapman says, "even day by day. Their number is growing in every major city in the United States."

While the United States cares for hungry and jobless among who enter illegally, "a check in Washington State last year," Mr. Chapman said, "showed one group of 130 we apprehended held 33 food stamps and 17 resided in low-cost government housing, 16 were collecting welfare, and 9 were collecting both welfare and food stamps."

A study by a private consulting firm indicated illegals cost U.S. taxpayers about \$13 billion a year.

In addition, illegal aliens send \$3 billion back each year to home countries — a kind of foreign aid.

The Immigration Service has about 2,900 people to keep back the illegal flood. They can't do it, Mr. Chapman says simply.

The laws are "unenforceable," he says. He wonders when Americans will realize that "we are seeing only the beginning of a flood — a human tide that is going to engulf our country."

Illegal aliens are now getting political clout. Mr. Chapman says they are calling for amnesty, and fighting "tight controls."

Each year 6 million students, tourists, and temporary visitors come to the United States but only 5,400,000 depart. The other 600,000 seek jobs. In addition, Mr. Chapman thinks, up to 500,000 a year enter with counterfeit documents.

A spot check last year at Chicago's O'Hare airport of a plane from Los Angeles, Mr. Chapman revealed, showed over half of the 140 passengers were illegal aliens.

The spouse of a U.S. citizen is able to get a most immediate admission under present laws.

United States

Carter 'corrects' Ford budget

By Harry R. Mills
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
President Carter, by correcting the "most serious defects" of the 1978 Ford budget — as Budget Director Bert Lance puts it — may have set in motion escalating social program costs in years ahead.

Mr. Carter, in his version of the fiscal 1978 budget, would restore \$5.1 billion worth of cuts former President Gerald R. Ford would have made in Medicare, Medicaid, food stamp, child nutrition, and other programs.

This, notes Alice M. Rivlin, director of the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), "reflects a [Carter] philosophy that the place to cut is not where it hurts the poor the most."

These restorations, however, dilute that program costs, often tied to inflation, will eat up more of future budgets than the outgoing Ford administration thought wise.

Now, then, can President Carter provide for the needs of the poor, reduce jobless rolls, and at the same time march toward his cherished goal of a balanced budget by fiscal 1981?

Private economy the key

Much depends, says Dr. Rivlin and Charles L. Schultze, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA), on how strongly the private economy performs.

If the economy is robust, generating extra tax revenues, then progress toward major goals can be made. If the economy is weak, unemployment will remain high, revenues will sag, government spending will increase to force, and the vision of a balanced budget will recede.

"A reduction of 1 percent in the unemployment rate," says Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal, "yields \$13 billion in additional tax revenue" and also reduces

unemployment compensation outlays. Another arrow in the Carter quiver, notes Dr. Schultze, is zero-based budgeting — examining the worth and relevancy of every federal program — due to start in fiscal 1978. "We don't yet know," says Dr. Schultze, "what economies may be achieved through zero-based budgeting in the years ahead."

Less red ink foreseen

Already, says budget director Lance, the projected \$57.7 billion deficit for fiscal 1978 is more than \$10 billion less than the \$68 billion worth of red ink expected in fiscal 1977 — a step in the direction of balanced budgets.

Nonetheless, concedes Mr. Lance, "we will need to speed up that rate of reduction to achieve a balanced budget by fiscal 1981."

Dr. Rivlin, whose Congressional Budget Office serves both Senate and House budget committees, does not comment on the wisdom of budget cuts and restorations. But she notes that the projected Ford cuts in medical and other social programs probably would not have made it through Congress anyway.

Mr. Lance outlines a three-step process leading toward balanced budgets:

- Achievement of a viable economy, partly through Mr. Carter's \$31.2 billion two-year economic stimulation package, designed to increase tax receipts.

- Zero-based budgeting to wipe off the federal books programs that cost money, but have — in White House eyes — lost their utility.

- An example of this is President Carter's halting of funds for 19 water-resources development projects, with a promise to review others. While pleasing to environmentalists, these cutbacks are bound to raise congressional hackles.

- Government reorganization — a project in its infancy, tangled up in conflict with Congress, but designed, again in the White House

view, to reduce government waste.

These steps notwithstanding, Mr. Carter has sent to Congress a fiscal 1978 budget totaling \$456.4 billion — almost \$20 billion larger than the \$440 billion budget submitted by former President Ford.

The extra spending comes partly through restorations of Ford budget cuts and partly through the extra stimulus President Carter wants to pump into the U.S. economy through his two-year package.

Carter economic assumptions

Economic assumptions on which the Carter budget is based, says Dr. Schultze, include for calendar year 1978 a 5.4 percent growth in real gross national product, consumer price inflation of 5.4 percent, and jobless rate at the end of 1978 of 6.3 percent.

For calendar year 1977, Dr. Schultze foresees a 7.1 percent unemployment rate, higher than the Carter White House originally had hoped, and a consumer price index rise of 5.1 percent.

In restoring Ford-suggested budget cuts, Mr. Carter concentrates on welfare, health, education, food stamp, and Social Security programs. He grants more money to community-development projects, including subsidized housing for the poor.

President Carter increases slightly funding for energy and environmental projects — but in the process he reduces nuclear funding and stresses energy conservation.

On defense, Mr. Carter tops \$2.7 billion in budget authority from the Ford budget. But this translates into only \$300 million in savings on actual outlays in fiscal 1978.

Now Congress, equipped with the Ford and Carter blueprints, enters its own budgetmaking process, with the aim of deciding by September how much money the government will take in, how much it will spend, and for what.

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From page 1

*Carter's foreign policy

Clark Clifford, considered one of the wiser elder statesmen of the Democratic Party, went off to the eastern Mediterranean to listen to Greeks and Turks and find out whether anything might be done to reconcile them over Cyprus and thus heal the wound which has weakened NATO's southern flank.

Ellsworth Bunker and Sol Linowitz, able negotiators and specialists in Latin America, went to Panama to try to work out a new relationship over the Panama Canal which would save Panamanian pride without giving up the substance of American control.

Cyrus Vance has done a quick tour of the Middle East, listening intently to the views of both Israelis and Arabs. Might he detect a useful change in the local positions of any of them which could clear the way for another try at a general settlement?

Neighborly priority

Mr. Carter himself had his first foreign heads of government at the White House, the President of Mexico and the Prime Minister of Canada. Thus did he give priority in such matters to his country's neighbors to north and south. He wants to be a good neighbor to both. He had earlier sent his Vice-President, Walter Mondale, to pay the courtesy calls on the members of the NATO alliance in Europe and on Japan, the essential ally in Asia.

Also Mr. Carter looked precedent and protocol to the winds and wrote a personal letter to the most prominent dissident in the whole communist world, Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov. Mr. Carter told Mr. Sakharov in the letter that the protection of human rights anywhere is "a central concern of my administration."

But at the same time that Mr. Carter spoke his mind about human rights he also slowed down the building program on three weapons systems — the B-1 bomber, the M-X mobile missile, and Minuteman III's. This was billed as a deliberate signal to the Soviets. If they want arms restraint let them respond to this tentative act of restraint by a matching action on their part.

One crisis at a time

Under Henry Kissinger, American foreign policy struggled through one crisis after another, but only one at a time. Dr. Kissinger de-

From page 1

*King Kong rules French cinema

Paris is probably the world's most cosmopolitan film center, with theaters showing everything from Soviet and South American films to Marx brothers classics and "King Kong" (both the original and the remake have been hits).

French-made films account for only 60 percent of ticket sales, while American films have more than a quarter of the market to themselves.

Normally, when unemployment goes up, so does film attendance. But last year was an exception. Cinema experts reason that, with television now offering eight films a week in popular time slots, the people who normally attend domestically made films have chosen to watch more television reruns.

Financing tougher

What is more, young French moviemakers have lately complained that, with the economy still slumping, they are having trouble getting the financing necessary to turn out the kind of films they would like to produce.

Still, the 1976 drop does not seem to be threatening a crash, as was the case between 1957 and 1960, when film attendance fell from 411 million to 183 million.

The complaint of the songwriters raised the question of American competition even more directly. Non-French films make up 40 percent of the list of songs played on the nation's three privately owned radio stations.

But the French songwriters' association ar-



Mary Bender, winner, Liberal, Kansas

Winning pancake races the line in annual U.S.-British contest

From page 1

*Devolution: down but not out

The Scottish Nationalists, who have been the most vociferous advocates, not merely of devolution but of independence for Scotland, accused the government of "having broken faith with the people of Scotland." They are expected to increase their share of Scottish votes in the next general election — perhaps even to gain a majority of Scotland's 71 seats in the British Parliament. (Labour now holds 41 of the 71; the Conservatives 16; the Scottish Nationalists 11; the Liberals 3. But two of Labour's seats belong to the breakaway Scottish Labour Party.)

Mr. Callaghan faces a perplexing dilemma. Without devolution, party strategists argued, Scottish votes would go more and more to the Nationalists. Without a majority in Scotland and Wales, Labour could well lose its very slender overall majority in the next general election. (Labour now holds 314 seats, against 314 for all opposition parties combined.)

But several Labourites from England and Wales are firmly set against devolution. Why should Scotland be given a regional assembly and not the various regions of England. They argue. The opposition Conservatives (as party leader Margaret Thatcher keeps reminding

people) are the Conservative and Unionist Party of Great Britain. The Liberals are also divided, the majority wanting to tack provisions calling for proportional representation on the devolution bill.

It may be that quick referenda in Scotland and Wales — if they show a convincing majority in favor of devolution — will offer the government a way out of its present impasse. And so might an all-party conference which, however, would be likely to go into other fundamental issues such as a written constitution and bill of rights.

As of now, government sources emphasize that Mr. Callaghan's most pressing duty is to get the British economy moving again. Devolution is an important Labour party commitment, they acknowledge, but it is not an issue that will of itself solve unemployment or inflation. The Prime Minister's inclination seems to be to take the defeat in stride. Without giving up on a long-term solution to the devolution problem, Mr. Callaghan's apparent priority is to concentrate on the hard struggle to hold the line on wages and prices while increasing production, increasing exports, and restoring international confidence in the pound sterling.

From page 1

*Cuba's silent army spreads

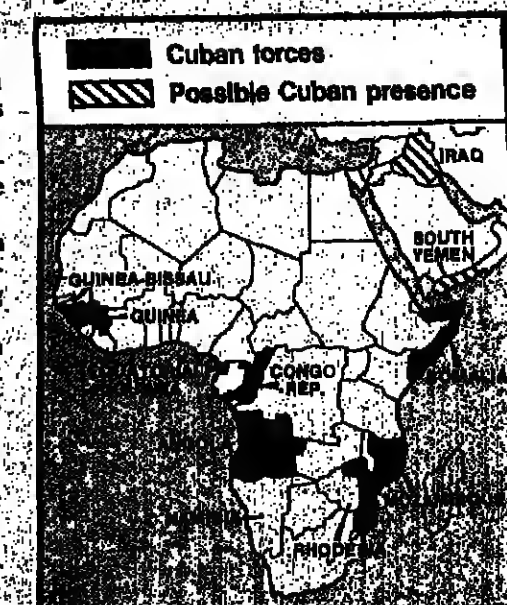
In addition, there are 200 to 300 civilian advisers in Tanzania, whose government (according to Western intelligence sources) has allowed the Cubans to train black Rhodesians for guerrilla operations.

Other blacks from Namibia (South-West Africa) are undergoing guerrilla training by the Cubans in southern Angola.

Cuba appears to have military and civilian personnel in South Yemen at the tip of the Arabian peninsula, and perhaps in Iraq advising the Palestinians.

The implications of the Cuban presence in Africa are thought to be increasingly evident to many African leaders, who are questioning the foreign presence in their midst. Some Africans tend to compare the Cuban role in Africa with that of the United States in Asia a decade ago.

According to intelligence sources, a number of African leaders have let the Cubans know they would like an early Cuban withdrawal not only from Angola but also from other African countries.



By John Farber, staff correspondent

New fervor over ethnic origins, languages

Americans digging for family roots

By Richard J. Cantani
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago
An ethnic renaissance is stirring across America.

The stunning popularity of Alex Haley's "Roots," in both book and TV series form, is but one sign of the rebirth of interest among Americans in their ethnic or cultural origins.

Other signs:

- At the Wilder Public Library on Detroit's east side, and at churches in Boston, youths and older residents of Polish extraction have been meeting to study the Polish language.

- In Washington, D.C., a group of Italian-American psychiatrists meets regularly to ponder such questions as why the group itself has avoided formally electing a leader. The lack of an election reflects a trait attributed to Italians of informal, unstated power brokering, one of its members says.

- Last month, two new Italian-American glossy magazines — *L'Espresso* and *Identità* — hit the newsstands. In March, publication of the first nationally distributed glossy magazine for American Latinos — *Nuestro* — will begin.

- In colleges and universities, the study of so-called ethnic languages is growing — bucking an overall decline in foreign language study, reports Richard Rood, director of foreign languages for the Modern Language Association of America.

Between 1968 and 1973 (the latest year for which data is available) overall language-study enrollment dropped on campuses from 1.1 million to 946,000 — led by a 35 percent drop in the study of French and 28 percent in German.

At the same time, college enrollment to Italian, Polish, Norwegian, Swedish, Yiddish, Hebrew, and Japanese classes doubled.

Mr. Rood calls such a rise "unprecedented" and says the climb is continuing.

As the language-study picture shows, the interest in ethnic matters has been gaining

strength over much of the last decade — or over roughly the same period as Mr. Haley's research and writing about his family's African origins and slave history.

Some experts say the new awareness of their cultural identity among non-Anglo Americans is a long-delayed reaction to efforts to "Americanize" such groups. Those efforts are traced back to World War I.

"The Americanization movement's final homogeneous society was to be achieved by the process of forced rejection of the immigrant heritage and deliberate conformity and adoption of the dominant (American Anglo-Saxon Protestant) order," says Lohmeyer R. Wynar, Kent State University professor and compiler of directories of ethnic organizations and publications in the United States.

For decades, many of the most dedicated supporters of Americanization were the non-Anglo ethnics themselves — who felt compelled "to divest themselves of their customs, traditions, language, and values in order to be swallowed up into the 'superior' cultural-value system of the host society," Mr. Wynar says.

More recently, "melting pot" assimilation theories have given way to acceptance of cultural pluralism in the United States. Mr. Wynar observes, to "an acceptance of American society as a mosaic within which the immigrant has the right to retain his cultural heritage."

Gino Baroni, president of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, traces the ethnic resurgence to the exhaustion of Great Society

minority programs in the 1960s and a turning back of liberal ethnics to their own communities. Mr. Baroni and others have discovered that preserving ethnic ties to communities is useful in preserving threatened city neighborhoods.

The search for ethnic information is being pressed in public libraries, universities, government, as well as at the grass-roots organizational level.

Jean Coleman, the American Library Association's (ALA) ethnic resources expert, reports

the rebirth in ethnic interest is making extraordinary demands on libraries for materials.

The traditional collection of classic foreign-language novels in local libraries does not meet the needs of today's readers, Miss Coleman says. Second and third generation ethnics often do not know their ancestors' language and want more general information about their group's culture. The ALA has set up separate ethnic caucuses to study ethnic needs at libraries. And the ALA hopes soon to survey the nation's 8,000 public libraries to learn what activities are under way and succeeding locally in the country.

Professor Wynar has launched a center for ethnic publications at Kent State. At last count, there were 960 ethnic periodicals and newspapers in the United States — two-thirds of them non-English or bilingual. By readership, the top ethnic groups are Jewish, Spanish, Polish, Italian, German, and Greek.

Mr. Wynar also lists 1,475 major ethnic organizations in the United States, representing 73 groups — from the Basque Club, Inc., in San Francisco to the Lithuanian Writers Association in Brooklyn, New York.

Under the leadership of historian Oscar Handlin, Harvard University is putting together a major "ethnic encyclopedia" to be published in two or three years.

Michigan State University recently published two new ethnic resources: a directory of ethnic publishers and a directory of ethnic studies librarians.

The U.S. Census Bureau is weighing whether to make a better count of ethnic numbers, by region. In the 1980 census, no accurate picture of U.S. population by ethnic share now exists. To date, the bureau has counted only first and second generation ethnics.

"This area of ethnicity is new to us," says Elmo Sorensen of the bureau's Washington staff. "Not until 1969 did we start asking about it. Now, government agencies, private citizens, and ethnic organizations are demanding better ethnic population data."



Poverty stalks families in Brazil's northeast

UNICEF photo; others by Richard Critchfield

The reason they flee:
Little but slop laborJoão came back
City life "was very hard... lonely"Benedito never left
But he wants to sell farm and goDuga (rear right) worries his children will be attracted to city
"I'd like to keep them by my side. ... But they have more advantages in the city."

Brazil impoverished northeast

Brazil is potentially one of the richest nations. The area around São Paulo is experiencing an extraordinary commercial and industrial growth. But Brazil's northeast is still touched by such advances. About 35 million — a third of Brazil's population — it remains a persistent area of poverty. A Monitor contributor reports from a northeast village.

By Richard Critchfield
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Guapira Village, Brazil

This village in northeast Brazil has a population of about 1,000 people.

Just as soon as they reach 17 or 18, they go to work in the fields. Every home has two or three children in the city. The village population and so is the land under cultivation.

A few make the 2,000-mile bus trek down to São Paulo, entering, as it were, the pipeline of cheap, unskilled labor for the city.

Most go to nearby Salvador, Brazil's old capital (1549 to 1763) nestled in the hills around the Atlantic coast, a city of lost wealth and power. A few go to the government-owned industrial outposts that have grown in the last 10 years.

Most of the boys become manual laborers in the overpopulated third world. Guapira village has a minimum legal monthly wage and surviving on a few jobs offered by the government-owned industrial outposts that have grown in the last 10 years.

Agriculture is not pushing them out, as it is in the overpopulated third world. Guapira village has a minimum legal monthly wage and surviving on a few jobs offered by the government-owned industrial outposts that have grown in the last 10 years.

Then what explains the allure of Salvador? The answer is simple: a better life. A better life.

Padre João, a local priest, blames the village's backward agricultural practices. He has encouraged the boys in a new school on modern agriculture, which he hopes will encourage them to stay in the village.

But Duga, Guapira's most prominent figure, even this will stave the flood. Duga, a village leader and his brother, Nandino, inherited from his village record as most of Guapira's men.

Duga bought the village's first gasoline engine in 1960, was the first to hire a tractor to plow his land in 1974, and introduced chemical fertilizer and insecticide and a pump well for clean drinking water. He is one of the few villagers given credit at a local bank. Accordingly, he guarantees loans for his neighbors.

With a weekly cash income of \$50 to \$80, Duga is not poor by third world standards; he eats beef twice a day and is saving to buy more land and a truck.

But his oldest son, Eleandro, 18, left last year for a factory job in Salvador, and Duga expects his four younger boys will all someday follow him.

"I'd like to keep them by my side," he says. "There's plenty of land in Guapira. But they have more advantages when they are employees in the city. It's better for them. If they want to go, they can."

But mostly it is to escape the hard work of the village. Situated halfway between the lush sugar and cacao plantations on the rainy coast and the immense and arid sertão (backlands) where little but goats thrive, Guapira survives on a shifting cultivation of manioc, or cassava, and herding cattle. Manioc flour is the staple diet although it tastes like sawdust and has almost no protein; a poor family may consume 40 kilos a week. Native to Brazil — when the Portuguese arrived they found the Indians growing it — manioc contains prussic acid.

To remove the acid and make it into flour requires a complex refining system of peeling and grating the tubers, pressing water out of the resultant pulpy mass and drying it by pushing it back and forth over big earthen ovens. This drudgery is done by women and children, usually two to four days each week.

An industrious family like Duga's can produce two 50-kilo sacks of flour or more each week, besides what they eat. A sack sells for \$25 at the town markets. Manioc flour is the backbone of Guapira's economy.

Picture a village typical of northeast villages, Guapira looks pleasant. Some 30 houses roofed with faded tiles or palm thatch, shaded by dense-foliated jaca or mango trees and plume-like thickets of bamboo, it extends along a rutted clay road.

It is a setting of rolling countryside with hilly uplands, plateaus, low wooded mountains, and deep ravines. There is a white wooden church of colonial style, a cockpit, four general stores that serve as taverns, and an atmosphere that is less tropical than wild West.

Cowboys or coqueiros gallop by or tie their horses to hitching posts. Many, in wide-brimmed straw or leather hats and with spurs tied with thongs to the ankles of their bare or sandaled feet, are blacks. Bahia state has Brazil's main concentration of descendants of African slaves brought in the 16th to 18th centuries to work the sugar plantations.

Although Brazil has an only 11 percent black population, it is the same as that of the United States. African culture strongly influences Bahia's food, art, dance, and religion.

Paradise is abundant in Guapira. One villager is forever working in a banana grove near the church in hopes of finding buried gold that village legend says some Portuguese hid there centuries ago. Manioc is only planted on certain days of a waning moon, and a yam field is believed cursed unless a woman helps bury the seeds.

Until four years ago, when Duga's neighbor, Antônio, bought a used dump truck, the villagers had to carry their produce to the weekly market by pack animals. Many still do, but Antônio's truck, piled high with goods and men, now is a frequent sight.

A few villagers have returned from Salvador. João, a poor landless laborer but a cheerful, gentle man who constantly relates Bible stories to anyone who will listen since his conversion to a fundamentalist sect some years ago, went to Salvador to work in a brewery in 1972.

Says João, "Life in Salvador was very hard. In a city in a job like that if you get hurt you have no way to get money. I had my family here. I was lonesome. In the city nobody cares about you." Still, his two grown daughters have gone there to work as housemaids.

Benedito is one of the few young men to stay in Guapira. He bought a 22-acre piece of land four years ago and by hard work has built it up with orange trees, manioc, and a herd of cattle. His aim: once the farm is worth \$10,000 or so, he will sell out and use the money to buy a tavern in Salvador.

Dona Selina, another village woman, has seen six of her children migrate to Salvador. She is proudest of Joao Carlos, her 25-year-old, who works in a luxury hotel for foreign tourists and who, in the market place each Saturday, performs capoeira, an acrobatic fighting dance of African origin.

Joao Carlos once took his mother to Salvador to see Carnival. "There were so many people it was boiling," Dona Selina recalls. Like all village mothers, she worries about her children in the city.

João Carlos says he loves Salvador because "there are so many more things to do and people to see." He is engaged to be married to a Guapira girl, but Selina, his fiancée, says Salvador is getting dangerous, especially at night, and if the village were not so primitive she would want to raise her children there.



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

Guapira lacks electricity, telephones, public transportation, sanitation, health services, decent schools, and roads.

Extraordinary growth

Yet Salvador is growing at the extraordinary annual rate of 7 percent, and its own infrastructure — sewage, water, electricity, transport — is close to the breaking point. Crime, almost nonexistent in Guapira, is increasing at an alarming rate (5 to 10 murders most weekends), and the fiestas and carnival are marked by violence.

Guapira's predicament matters because the same rural disintegration is happening throughout the third world.

British economist E. F. Schumacher, in his influential 1973 book, "Small Is Beautiful," warned that the growth of dual economies in the poor countries was poisoning both village and city alike. As urban sectors modernized, neglected rural economies went to pieces and caused mass urban migration, unemployment, and crime.

He proposed a new kind of foreign aid he given directly to villages to set up "agro-industrial cultures" in the countryside based upon what he called "intermediate technology."

Such aid can work. Two years ago an ex-Peace Corps worker from Wisconsin, Daniel Johnson, settled down in Guapira as part-owner of a 170-acre orange and cattle ranch. To make a go of it until his trees matured and herd grew, Mr. Johnson rented out his tractor to about 300 local farmers at \$7 an hour.

The result: land cultivated in manioc and other crops was doubled (Duga's from 6 to 12 acres) and so did family incomes. (Duga's yearly cash income went from about \$1,500 to \$3,000; most family incomes in Guapira, after food consumed, go from \$700 to \$2,000.)

Padre Baturen

A Spanish priest, Padre Francisco Baturen, has done much to salvage Salvador's threatened fishing industry. Ten years ago he studied fishing technology in Spain, moved into a coastal village near Salvador, sailed out into the Atlantic to demonstrate he knew fishing and gradually taught improved methods of hooks, nets and boats. Today the Salvador fishermen plan to build a pier, shipyard and school for navigation. Padre Baturen still lives in the village.

It now is generally recognized that in 20 years of foreign aid, little has trickled down to the third world's two million villages. Today just about everybody in the development business, from the United Nations to the World Bank, is engaged in trying to find new ways to directly reach these villages.

In Salvador the Rockefeller Foundation has one of seven such experiments underway overseas to try and learn how to formulate such strategies.

The most successful pilot project has been to give management advice and guarantee loans of about \$1,000 to about 100 of the city's small businesses — radio, TV, and clock repair; furniture and metal shops; and retail stores. But experience shows those screening loans must know everybody personally, and Salvador has about 40,000 such businesses.

The aid-givers are on the right track: the solution to world poverty has to be found in the two million villages. But the kind of small, humanized aid that works is hard to duplicate. It seems to require an educated person with technical knowledge to impart who is prepared to live with the poor he is helping.

In all poor countries, the city has become the magnet, a Pied Piper luring the young, while rural life has lost its savor.

But the health of Salvador, like any other city, is the end depends on the wealth of the rural villages.

It is what happens in the Guapira that will count.

people



Marceau: 'a wild fascination in his eyes'

'I am a silent witness of my time'

Marcel Marceau's mime still finding new life each performance

By Jordan R. Young

Los Angeles
Marcel Marceau has not stood still. There is evidence of a more mature performer, deeper and more spiritual than before, as France's world-renowned mime continues his tours. So what audiences are seeing is in essence a whole new show.

"A real artist should not care about what a producer says to him; he should do what he feels is right, as long as he keeps his style," says Marceau. "If he feels he has to experience new dimensions, even if he is in advance of his time, he should experience them. We should be

ahead of our time, even when we are witnesses and we reflect our time.

"An artist has to live a total life, be is not only an entertainer. I like the public to laugh and to cry, but I like also to disturb them, to create a consciousness in their minds. I am a silent witness of my time."

When Marceau talks there is an almost wild fascination in his eyes; his thoughts move through a strange and convoluted process, hands jumping to describe a snake's slither or a butterfly's flutter, imagination at full gallop. When he talks he speaks not so much words as ideas, a constant flow of them.



"An artist has to experience in his trauma-tism, in his world, in his subconscious, he has to fix on the stage the world we live in. Not only the world, but all the ideas he gets from imagining a world," says Marceau. "All that he senses the public does not sense, like a seeing brother. He has to show them the light. He has to care about style, perfection, and touching the public, but in no way has he only to want to please the public. Life is very exciting, often it is bigger than reality. What is real to us can suddenly be overthrown by something we don't expect."

At that point, he decides, is where the "supernatural" arrives in life. Somewhere, beyond time, he feels the supernatural made its way into his own life. Today, he deals with it in his art. The highly acclaimed "Bip in the Modern and Future Life" begins with the familiar figure of the robotlike Bip smoothly making his way through the automated world, riding the moving sidewalk, launching himself in the rocketlike elevator, etc. Then all goes suddenly haywire and the man in the white face finds himself falling through space and going through the whole evolution of man.

"The day the system falls, man is helpless," Marceau says. "I show him entering the world of the future, which is going back to his subconscious, back to the womb of his mother and re-creating life, all his frustrations, his dreams, and going back to the cycle of man, to the ape, finding two stones and creating light through fire... there is re-created a new son of man who is torn between metal and flesh, between the will of remaining a Romantic man and maybe a need to progress, creating computers, creating mechanization and trying to escape from it—finding more purity in himself and going back to nature, trying to be one's self and not trapped in a preprogrammed society."

Asked about the idea for "Modern and Future Life," the mime says many people compare it to Stanley Kubrick's film "2001: A Space Odyssey." Marceau is an admirer of Ray Bradbury, and would perhaps like to adapt some of his work to the stage as full-length melodramas. At any rate, he wants to experiment.

To this end, he plans to form a school company. He might be a wealthy man now. Few artists have fared as much as he. But for many years Marceau had a computer putting everything he had into it, supporting putting on shows. It is only in the last few years that he has had anything. "All the money I had was always serving an artistic purpose."

Now that he has earned his freedom, he is concerned with passing on his work. "I am not interested in return. I intend to do it ('so that my technique and what I have created will continue'); also to put his work on film. He would like to write a book, well, but he is not sure he wants to take time out from performing to do so.

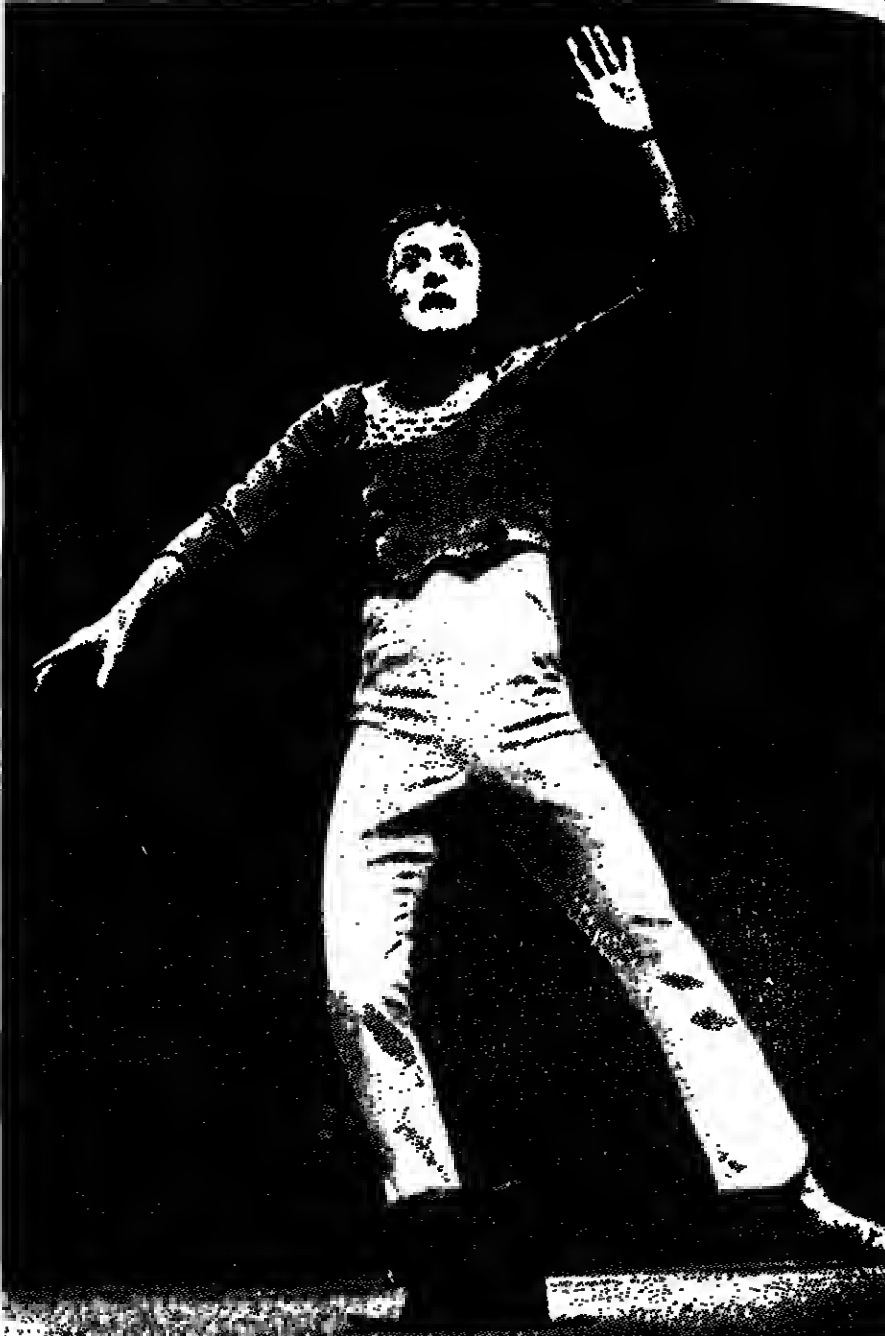
He feels he can project his art through the media. "This is why civilization is important. What man creates and gives in his time is lost, it is re-created so that man has an eternal life, an eternal life. Men die but their men take up their ideas."

Does Marceau feel he is spreading the gospel on his tours? "No, not the gospel. I preach, I speak what I feel. My goal is to help people. I am not a missionary. I am not out my life for the theater. My mission is to make people laugh and cry. And I believe in mission perhaps, but without wanting to become a mission."

"I don't like it to be said that I am a messenger to man. There is an idea which pushes me to create, to create a new dream of man—and then I become a messenger without wanting to be one. But I am not a messenger. I am a clown, wanting to be a clown."

Offstage there is a serious, thoughtful man and reflective beneath the mask. "When you say 'supernatural,' it is magic on the stage but it is also magic in life as you can conceive it on a stage."

"Theater has to become a peace with the sense of pleasing to the public. But at the same time it has to remain also the performance, because man has always been in the search of himself."



Marceau as 'Bip in the Modern and Future Life'

You don't have to be Japanese to play the koto

By Jo Ann Levine
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Kashihara City, Japan

On the other side of the shoji screen, the sounds of talking stopped and the heavily plucked sounds of the koto (Japanese harp) with its tenuously held tones began.

The music almost took one's mind away from the task of finding along the tatami mats closer to the electric space heater while waiting for the interview to begin.

The cold rain continued, but the heat began to have an effect and as the hush of this 100-year-old house took over, it seemed as graceful as a harp from floor to ceiling.

While waiting for the owner, Hideo Inouye, a well-known koto player to appear, Shoko Tsujii spoke about how his fiancée and koto music had become of increasing interest to those outside Japan. She is soon to start a school in London for the purpose of teaching the koto. The long, 13-string ancient instrument, which originally came from China and had two strings and has had 13 strings in Japan since the 12th century, is more popular today than ever in Japan as more and more young people become interested in traditional Japanese culture.

Miss Inouye will still continue to teach in Nara and Mie Prefectures where she has 180 students, and hopes to have her students take over most of the teaching in London.

Her London venture came about because John E. B. Newman, program organizer for the BBC, came to Japan a year and a half ago when Queen Elizabeth made her visit. He had studied in Japan once for five years and had learned to play the koto. He also knew her next door neighbor, a teacher of Judo and "godfather of this house." And he heard her play.

The street where Miss Inouye's house is located is "very old and very special," said Mr. Tsujii, and in an area where about 10 of the houses are 350 years old, the same age as the town.

Miss Inouye could be heard saying good-bye to her guests. The shoji screens parted, revealing a music room where six or seven kotos were lined against the wall, some of them in cases, some uncovered. They looked like a row

of surfboards that had gone to heaven and come back as harps.

It is in that room that Miss Inouye, who had come in and sat on her feet around a low enameled table, teaches on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.

She is qualified to teach the tea ceremony and flower arrangement. ("If we serve tea, we have to value and cherish porcelain, pictures, and poetry.")

Mr. Tsujii had also explained that Miss Inouye is a member of the Pioneer of Kashihara City, an honorary organization that in the last year has been giving public concerts and appearing on television and radio.

Five years ago, Miss Inouye's father, a merchant, bought this house so that she could learn koto, an instrument her parents had never urged her to learn.

Miss Inouye, a graduate of Kyoto Women's University, said that she did not begin seriously studying koto as a profession until she was 17.

As a child she loved all kinds of music, liked to sing, and tried to play other instruments, but she found that the koto was "best for me." She tried to explain, and even hoped up to get an English-Japanese dictionary in order to help the interpreter find the right word. She explained that the "tone" of the koto stayed longer and sounded more musical to her than any other instrument.

In the old days, she said, people heard koto music and merely memorized it in order to play it: that's why so many blind men and women learned koto for their profession. It was not until after World War II that the music was notated.

Koto can be used to play modern music such as jazz and she said that some of her students do play jazz. She would like to see it also used in symphony orchestras.

To learn koto is quite easy, she said. "At first and after four or five years, one can be 'so-so' at playing it," but she added, "It takes about 10 years to really understand it—just as it takes about that long to really understand flower arranging and the tea ceremony."

In London, she said, she will probably have Japanese children as her first pupils, but then she hopes to teach Westerners this ancient instrument of the East.



Hideo Inouye playing the koto

For the people of Belfast: something to join that isn't violent

By Richard Kepler Brunner
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Belfast

There is a saying in this strife-torn city that although the situation is hopeless the people are not without hope.

One of the hope-givers to Belfast's ghetto dwellers is Lisa Huber, a young American who came here in 1972 as a summer volunteer at an Irish Quaker play camp in Ballymurphy. What she saw in this slum convinced her to stay on after the other volunteers went home.

Today Lisa is a staff member of the Center for Neighborhood Development, an independent group that seeks to improve the lives of Protestant and Catholic families who live on the background of the longest-running urban guerrilla war in the Western world. The center's leaders believe that generous transference of hope through recreation, education, and understanding can counteract the effects of the sectarian war.

The Center for Neighborhood Development occupies two rooms in the Friends' Institute, a 19th-century brick building in New Lodge, a Catholic area near Belfast's commercial heart. Recently, Lisa took time out from her daily routine to discuss her life and work.

The crimson bars of an electric fire fought back the chill, for central heating is a scarce commodity in Belfast. A tapestry of posters brightened the office walls. One of them advertised a "person cannot be at peace with himself until he is at peace with himself." Another proclaimed: "Those of you who think you

know everything are annoying to those of us who do." At eye level, on the wall facing her desk is a bit of economic philosophy: "There is no such thing as a free lunch."

"Ours is the only agency of its kind in Belfast," she explained between phone calls.

"Our work has to be done in small groups, privately. If it becomes public the screws are put on from both sides," she means the Catholic and Protestant extremist groups. "We provide a constructive alternative to violence. We give the young people something to join besides the IRA and the Protestant paramilitaries."

A seasoned Belfast observer confirmed the soundness of the center's operational philosophy. "As long as they help people they're safe. But look out if they help Protestants or Catholics. This is the only country in the world where they're still fighting the Reformation."

Although the center rents rooms in the Friends' Institute, it is unaligned with any religious or sectarian organization. The hard facts of life in Belfast dictate that if it is to survive it must toe the thin line of anonymity between the warring camps.

The center has workers in two Catholic and two Protestant ghettos. In Short Strand the people are advised on housing, welfare rights, and assisted in redevelopment and rehousing. Work in the New Lodge area is just beginning. Lower Old Park, a district of 1,500 persons, remains an isolated "pocket" amid brick-up houses. Here the center operates a club for the aging and organizes activities for the young. In the Lower Shankill Estate, a community center and play scheme are flourishing and adult education classes are under way. The center's

staff also provides information to residents on housing and welfare rights and helps to rehabilitate teenage offenders.

"We concentrate on cultural activities," she pointed out. "If the violence increases we just duck the bullets and keep the kids inside. We use this as a long-term strategy, hoping that the level of violence will come down slowly."

Of the \$35,000 it cost to finance the center's program last year, about \$33,000 was contributed by foundations in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the United States. Among the principal benefactors are the Cadbury and Rowntree Trusts—the philanthropic arms of the two giants in English chocolate manufacturing.

A graduate of Friends World College on Long Island, Lisa earned her diploma in community development at Edinburgh University before embarking on her work with students in London. After her summer play camp experience, the Northern Ireland Government hired her as a community-development officer. For two years she worked among residents of Belfast's shipyard area.

Lisa Huber and her colleagues are convinced that the center's constructive alternative to violence is a useful way to wean ghetto dwellers away from supporting the terrorists' violence. Peace within oneself before peace with others is not poster-slogan jargon to this fifth column for peace in Belfast. They have seen too many of Belfast's youth sucked into the bog of violence not to understand the consequences of sectarian hatred. This is why Lisa supports the present women's peace movement.

"The movement is really significant," she said. "You must remember that these women

are the mothers and sisters and neighbors of the gunmen. They are now beginning to realize that if you live in a Catholic area the IRA [illegal Irish Republican Army] brings grief to its own community, the same grief that the Protestant paramilitaries bring to their community."

Lisa and her co-workers are prey to the same disappointments as other Belfast social workers. For example, not long ago a volunteer group sponsored a day's outing to the country for Protestant and Catholic children. Much friendly back-patting and galling-to-know-each-other shined. On returning to Belfast, the bus dropped off the Protestants first. Amid hugging and kissing and tearful good-byes and promises to write letters, the Protestant children clambered off the bus. And then, while the Catholic kids waved their farewells, the Protestant kids stoned the bus.

That incident, multiplied many times, would hardly ignite the spark of optimism in the eyes of a Belfast community worker. But Lisa Huber carries on.

"I have seen great inhumanity in Northern Ireland," she concedes. "But I have seen the extremes of courage and of kindness too."

Over lunch with Lisa and Felicity McCartney, the center's Belfast-born education officer, the conversation turned to other aspects of life in Belfast. "You kind of lose your sense of danger," Lisa said. Felicity nodded in agreement. "When there's a bomb scare in a shop in the next street, I keep shopping. Once I saw a pair of shoes I liked in a shop window. Before I could try them on there was a bomb scare and the store was evacuated. I didn't get back that day. When I did, those shoes were gone. Now I just keep on shopping."

Sorry, but Kilauea may not erupt this year

This is bad news - both for the scientist



Tourlet sneps that on a picture they won't believe back home

Lipman says the scientists' routine measurements show that the entire volcano has moved south southeast by more than a foot since the quake. Further, they show at nearby Mauna Loa, Hawaii's other active volcano, the southwestern side apparently has started a slow slide as well.

Mainlanders fight to save Tasmania's wildlife

The short-tailed shearwaters, known locally as the mutton bird, breed on the islands and vast numbers achieve what appears to be

Cheating in the lab

Sir Cyril's work has been a pillar of theory that IQ ability is largely inherited. Among other things, it inspired the widespread practice of "tracking" students toward or away from higher education on the basis of pre-teen tests. As Ian St. James

Research notebook

He suggests more insistence on multiple experimenters on a project, hope that colleagues will keep an eye on each other. He also urges that authors

Such things might help; but they get at the root of the problem, namely, the fact that career demands on scientists today set up pressures in favor of leaving. The rewards are there - pre-

The grant system

Such pressures encourage dishonesty besides data faking. Paul Valen, professor of biology at the University of Chicago, commenting on the United States, observed last July: "the norm in our science is rampant dishonesty, because it is made necessary for survival of creative research." The system only funds work clearly of advance, he explained; so that exploratory research "doesn't win." This forces scientists either to be their work plans or to "make" them given for another purpose.

The organization of science has to be repaired. But let's not put all the blame on the system. Amílcar Estroff, of the University has rightly noted that "if ever is wrong with the system, individual responsibility for individual mistakes nonetheless must rest with the individual." That's where reform has to begin. It's past time for individual scientists to face up to this responsibility.

Knock-Down furniture

James David is a four-year-old K-D company, specializing in shiny chrome, glass, and wood. It has doubled its sales volume each year of its short history, and has now expanded into European and world markets as well.

Gabberts, Inc., with stores in Minneapolis, Dallas, Denver, and Indianapolis, has cut a dramatic swath in merchandising K-D furniture. Its "Put-2-Gether" galleries of new portable affordable furniture emphasize a fresh and snappy life-style approach that is attracting droves of younger customers — and older customers, too — to their stores. The galleries show tables, chairs, dinettes, seating units, shelving, and wall systems set up in completely appointed settings.

Department stores are recognizing that K-D merchandise today has earned a place for itself in furniture departments instead of, or, as well as, in housewares departments. Old-line department stores, such as Jordan Marsh in Boston, will now show "boxed goods" in the furniture departments, and encourage customers with show-and-tell techniques to take home a K-D sofa which sells, perhaps, from \$100 to \$300, or a cozy upholstered self-assembled chair, prices at \$100 to \$125.



home



Decorlon's 'Cloud Nine' 10-piece ready-to-assemble grouping in bslge cotton velvet with tubular chrome supports

Plants for night window gardening

If you are out of your house all day you can do night gardening in your window.

All the lovely colors that intrigue the daytime gardener become washed out, grayed, and uninteresting under artificial lighting and in the softness of the evening. So if you are an evening person, think white.

In choosing foliage plants for the night window garden, select feathery foliage that looks more interesting in dim light, not large masses of solid leaves that tend to look black at night.

Just because you do not see the plants during the daytime does not mean you can ignore their daytime needs. Place the plants carefully.

Near the window place sweet olive, gazania, calla lily, primrose, calceolium, white geranium, nicotiana, and other plants that require sun and give interesting foliage or white flowers. Away from the window place rabbit's foot fern, white lantana, old man cactus, and little old lady cactus.

A window with east or west exposure is best for your window garden since there will be sunshine for half of the day. Set a time of day for you to water your plants and you will be thrilled to know you can garden even though you have a job.

"Sweet olive is actually an evergreen tree that can be potted while small. It gives you shiny dark leaves and clusters of tiny white flowers that bloom all year round. This is a fragrant flower and the dense growth makes a good plant for your window."

Be sure the soil is well-drained. It should be a clay-type soil, kept evenly moist by placing water in the saucer under the pot.

Select white calla lilies. Godfrey is a good variety, since it grows only about 18 inches tall. Each tuber will produce 4 or 5 flowers

Pot the tuber early in the fall in rich soil, setting each corn just above soil line in a 6-inch pot. Place in the sun immediately and water it daily, giving plant food every few days. Potted in August, clematis will begin blooming in October.

In spring, dry the corms and store them in a cool place to be repotted in the fall for your winter window garden.

Primrosea-give perpetual bloom but you must never let the roots dry out. The clusters of white flowers rise on 6-inch stems from the heart of the plant. Although they come in tempting blue and magenta, white is for night.

Choose the fancy-leaved caladium with huge silver-white, green-veined leaves. Plant the tubers in summer in a mixture of sand, soil, and peat moss. Set in the garden where they have moisture and shade. By fall all will be ready for your window garden where they still like plenty of moisture and some shade.

Later, when they appear past their prime, dry the tubers, remove the dirt, and store in a dry place for several weeks. In the spring plant them again. You can take short cuts on caring for the tubers of these plants by buying

While geraniums bloom better in a soil parts clay to 1 part sand and humus. If the soil is too rich the plant will grow more foliage than flowers.

remember that cool nights encourage blooming. Remove old flowers promptly to encourage new flowers to form. While the white geranium may not be a fragrant one, there is always a pungent, appealing aroma from many geraniums.

Nicotiana, flowering tobacco, gives both lovely flowers and a haunting fragrance. Bring in a few nicotianas from your outdoor garden and pot them in plenty of soil before the frost comes. Trim off large shabby foliage and leave the flower stems. Given plenty of water, (ha-

starry white blossoms will add fragrance to your home for many weeks.

If you have no outdoor garden to give you nicotiana you can grow it from seed or purchase plants at your garden center or from a florist.

Directly behind the sun-loving plants you can place a row of those which like a bit of shade. Wax plant comes in many varieties. You can choose the leaf shape you like the best. It has trailing tendencies and may be trained onto a wire or wooden support. The waxy white flowers appear in summer.

This plant stands a lot of abuse. It likes to dry out between waterings, thrives best when rootbound, and doesn't even want you to cut off the faded blossoms since the prolific bloomer will send out new blossoms on the same old ones.

For the shadiest spot in your window garden choose a couple of the "Forest of Ferns." They will resemble black lace against your draperies if you place them on either side of the window at night. Rabbit's foot is one of the better varieties that comes from the deep woods. It requires rich, moist soil, little light

The black dots that appear on the underside of the fronds are spores of seed for reproduction. Do not become alarmed when these appear.

"Old man cactus" and "little old lady" are two good varieties for night gardens. However, any of the hairy varieties will do. These are easy to find in many stores that have a garden section. The hairs on these plants seem

Cacti need pots that appear too small for them, six months rest in a partially sunny window in winter, and sunlight after the winter rest.

books

The Good News Bible

No-fuss illustrations echo new style language

By Richard M. Harley
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Ruston Swiss-born Annie Vallotton does line drawings that are unusual in their simplicity. Few artists use so little to say so much — or evoke such positive response from viewers.

Perhaps this is why she was commissioned to do some 500 drawings for the American Bible Society's new translation of the Bible, called "The Good News Bible: Today's English Version" (published in London by the British and Foreign Bible Society, 148 Victoria Street). The so-called "TEV" is the only recent translation to be illustrated, according to Dr. Eugene A. Nida, a Bible society official.

To the Bible reader raised on elaborate illustrations of muscle-bound, robe-clad, sandal-shod heroes surrounded by "thousands of cheering extras," Miss Vallotton's imagery may seem a bit thin at first. But clearly there is something about her simple figures which has boosted the already soaring popularity of the TEV.

'Severe selectivity'

As Dr. Nida notes in his upcoming book on "The Good News Bible," the secret of these drawings is the "severe selectivity of features; everything which is not completely essential to the event is eliminated."

For the buoyant, articulate Miss Vallotton the minimum of detail in a line drawing has advantages: "I sought the minimum of lines for the maximum of expression." Speaking from her suburban Paris home in a telephone interview, the artist said, "I hoped to make the reader do something as he looks at the picture — to react, to finish the undated drawing by adding what is missing, adding what is his own feeling

so he can identify with the story's situation. Thus each time he sees a drawing, he can see it in a new way. It will appear a little differently each time."

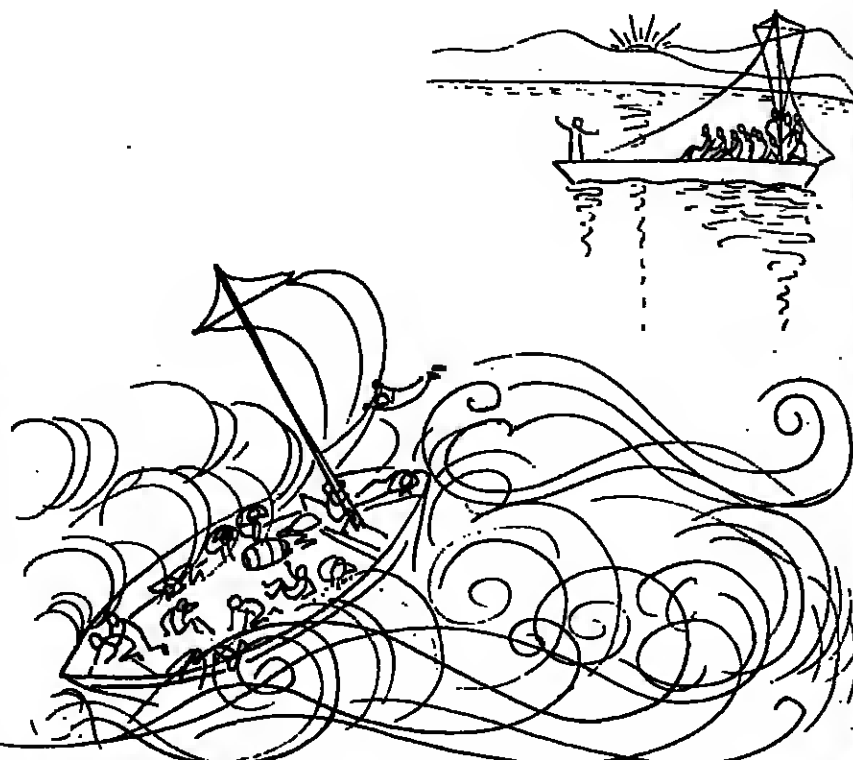
The TEV itself, whose New Testament has been available since 1968 under the name "Good News for Modern Man," is the result of 15 years of planning. Sixty percent of the one million copies printed so far were sold before its Dec. 1 publication date. The New Testament alone has sold 52 million copies over the last 10 years, an all-time record for American publishing.

TEV's purpose illustrated

In some ways the Vallotton drawings illustrate the very purpose of the new version. Translators strove for an accurate translation in common English for people finding standard versions too difficult or too old-fashioned. According to the American Bible Society, the TEV is "neither academic nor simplistic," but "the natural English of everyday adult conversation." The Society hopes that, as the TEV offers texts more people can understand, it will supplement, rather than displace, standard translations.

In like fashion, Annie Vallotton sought a "universal language" in her line drawings to help readers understand abstract passages.

To achieve this universality, Miss Vallotton made many preliminary sketches for each drawing. First she would make a sketch, then consult persons of all types and ages to see if they recognized the verse behind the picture, and then draw and redraw some more. "If after all that, different people recognize the verses, or the lines bring out something for them, I feel the drawing must have the right line." Sometimes 80 different sketches were made before Miss Vallotton got the one which was "right."



From 'The Good News Bible'

"Waves began to spill over the boat . . . and there was a great"

Miss Vallotton's broad background in classical and modern art and culture, East and West, are reflected in her drawings. She feels that there are "common points which join the cultures," and which must be tapped in order for a drawing "to communicate real power and real strength." She feels, too, that, because of their simplicity and openness to interpretation, line drawings are particularly suited to transmit thoughts across cultures.

Rather than striving for word-for-word translation, the TEV is based on a "meaning-for-meaning" rendering of the original texts. Says Dr. Nida, this approach aims "to stimulate in the new reader in the new language the same reaction to the text as the one the original author wished to stimulate in his first and immediate readers."

Some Bible scholars and pastors using TEV, saying they sometimes have had its readings for churchgoers. But also a troubled psychotherapist helping a boy who has blinded several horses. Others have hailed the drama's theatricality, and praised its serious treatment of a serious theme.

When I saw it on Broadway, with Anthony Hopkins and young Firth, I was impressed with its staging and mythic undercurrents, distressed by the harshness of its central tragedy, and disappointed with the hopelessly conventional material and motivations that flesh it out.

Like "Equus" or Icarus, however, you can't question its onstage popularity. It premiered in mid-1973 at London's National Theatre and is still going strong there. On Broadway its psychiatrist-actors have included Hopkins, Burton, and Anthony Perkins. Three other United States companies are also presenting it. It has been translated into eight languages, according to the movie's preliminary production notes, and has been mounted in Europe, Japan, and South America.

Hoping this long line of success will continue into the movie palace when the "Equus" film is released next year, co-producers Persky and

On the 'Equus' set, they're sure it's a hit

By David Sierritt

Nothing tells less about a future film than a visit to the set.

One movie's location is all-hustle, hustle, high spirits, and eager talents; six months later a full-scale flop unspools at the screening room. On another set the director is edgy, the cast looks bored, the whole project seems of dubious value. Yet the result is a carefully crafted and widely popular hit.

Of course it helps if cast, crew, and filmmakers feel their talents are at the service of quality material and astute leadership. This attitude was much in evidence at "Equus," a normally "closed set" that recently opened long enough for a visit by a gaggle of curious journalists.

Everyone connected with the picture bubbled confidently that a hit was in the making. Producer Lester Persky went so far as to worry — not seriously — that stars Richard Burton and Peter Firth would wind up competing for a best-actor Oscar. "Maybe we could run them as a team," Persky mused. "I think they did that once before with a couple of stars."

Some players have rallied at the original "Equus," complaining of excess in its story of a troubled psychotherapist helping a boy who has blinded several horses. Others have hailed the drama's theatricality, and praised its serious treatment of a serious theme.

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Elliott Kastner and the United Artists studio have assembled some top-notch talent. The supporting cast boasts Joan Plowright, Eileen Atkins, Colin Blakely, Jenny Agutter, and Harry Andrews. Peter Shaffer adopted his own script. The director is Sidney Lumet, maker of such recent favorites as "Serpico," "Murder on the Orient Express," "Dog Day Afternoon," and the current "Network."

Naturally, the Big Question — for those concerned with art, taste, and humanity — is: Will the movie be more graphic than the play in handling the act of violence that sparks the story — the blinding of the horses, since in stage versions it happened offstage or symbolically.

The answer: probably. "It would be sentimental not to show it," says author Shaffer, quoting director Lumet, adding that cinema is a more literal medium than theater. Of course, any moviegoer over 20 remembers when sentiment was something people and pictures clamored for, while illusion and the power of language — in the stage "Equus" — were considered subtle and desirable. Times change.

Then again, "Equus" may turn out tamer than its author expects. These things are hard to predict. Take, for example, the apparent disagreement over handling of the one, brief nude scene that hosted the stage play's controversiality. A publicist says it will be dealt with very delicately in the film. Shaffer says it would be "a cop-out" not to spread it across the screen. Producer Persky helms and says "taste" will be exercised.

As with the story's violence, there's no way of knowing what view will prevail until Lumet sits in the editing room with nothing but his taste and experience to guide him.

In any event, "Equus" is a thoughtful work at heart, caring about its disturbed heroes and reaching for some insight into the stronger corners of human consciousness. Author Shaffer assumes a perplexed look when one asks why so dark a play should find such huge popularity, and finally muses that "fear of conformity" is the answer; he suggests a contemporary longing for odd adventure to save us from the monotony of endless superhighways, supermarkets, and superstars. Perhaps he has something there.

Watching Richard Burton show up for work



Richard Burton, Keith McMillan, David Combs in the stage version

Equus: will the film version sacrifice subtlety and the power of illusion?

of a Monday morning, you'd never guess "Equus" had a grain of griminess. He breezes onto the set humming "78 Trombones" — soon half the crew will be unconsciously whistling the same ditty — and nodding cheerily to everyone in sight. Soon he is working his way into a big scene with Firth, the "Equus" champ who played the boy in London and New York. Yet every break finds him happy and relaxed.

At dinner the night before he acknowledged that three-fourths of his many films have turned out to be "junk." Clearly he relishes the challenge of his present project, and looks forward to the finished product with great expectations.

Though Sidney Lumet has directed hit after

hit, including such "serious" efforts as "Twelve Angry Men," "Long Day's Journey Into Night," and "The Pawnbroker," he has never quite found the cult status of a Stanley Kubrick or the genius reputation of an Alfred Hitchcock. He is an immensely energetic worker, however, storming delightedly about the set, shooting with enough speed and confidence to astonish the most jaded crew member, and remembering the first names of everyone who matters, however marginal their presence or how brief the acquaintance.

"The joy is in the struggle" is his summery remark. Since "Equus" is a happy enough struggle, it could turn out a snappy film that transcends its own sad subject matter. Time alone will tell.

Virginia Woolf's 'Moments of Being': newly published memoirs

Moments of Being, by Virginia Woolf. Edited and with an introduction and notes by Jeanna Schukind. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 207 pp. \$8.95. London: Sussex University Press, £5.

By Mary Lyoo Mansam

So many books have been published of late about that circle of friends called the Bloomsbury Group that it is a true pleasure to read at last what the most gifted writer among them, Virginia Woolf, has to say about herself, her family and her friends.

In these hitherto-unpublished memoirs, she comes vividly before us, both as young girl and mature woman. Taken altogether, they give us a remarkably full picture, not simply of a per-

son, but of a family and an age. Moreover, they tell us, better than any other source could have done, why she became a writer: how her life informed her art, and her art gave meaning and reality to her life.

Virginia Woolf, daughter of the critic and biographer, Sir Leslie Stephen, was born in 1882 into one of the most intellectually distinguished families of late Victorian England. The family connections were immense, encompassing duchesses and admirals, on the one hand; writers, dons and Pre-Raphaelite painters, on the other. For there was at the heart of the Stephen family itself a curious contradiction: they were distinguished, but shabby; respectable, yet eccentric; conventional, and, at the same time, unworshiped.

In the first of these memoirs, Virginia Woolf writes about growing up in such a family. There are comic moments, but the prevailing mood is one of tragedy. At the age of 13, she lost her mother, the beautiful self-sacrificing, overworked woman who for many years held all the disparate elements in their household together. Years of disintegration and chaos followed. Her father's unconscious tyranny was now directed upon his daughters; he assumed that they would stay home to care for him in his old age. At the same time, their half-brother, George Duckworth, determined to bring them out into society. Both efforts ultimately failed, but the price that the younger daughter, Virginia, paid was heavy indeed: for a time, she lost her sanity.

The rewards of her victory were great. In the second of these memoirs, written more than 30 years after the first, Virginia Woolf is able to view the same period of her life with much greater naturalness and understanding. The past has become for her a rich source of images and symbols; of these "moments of being" around which all her writings revolve. We understand now how her early years were transformed into the symbolic enigma of Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay in "To the Lighthouse," and how, in making this artistic breakthrough, she was able to free herself from the obsessive preoccupation with death.

The last three memoirs contained in this volume were derived from papers originally intended to a loose alliance of her friends, called the Memoir Club. One of the most mordantly humorous portraits of her brother, George, another, a very early draft of "A Room of One's Own," and a third, a candid and charming charge of snobbery.

So the book ends on a lively note that within its pages we have glimpsed the depths of tragedy to high comedy, the short, run the gamut of Virginia Woolf's remarkable gifts as a writer. We see a World in a grain of sand, and at the same time, she was to her friends a light and witty of conversation.

The five pieces in this book, unpublished manuscripts, have been edited, arranged, and annotated by Schukind so as to make a single volume. Those who admire Virginia Woolf will be especially gratified by the "bonus" — a book which, about Virginia Woolf.

Mary Lyoo Mansam, of the book "Virginia Woolf: The Artist and the Writer," published by the University of Chicago Press.

An invitation to talk about modern poetry

A History of Modern Poetry, by David Perkins. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, £13.15.

By Victor Hlowes

Describing the intellectual ferment of his youth, W. B. Yeats remarked, "My thoughts were in a great excitement but when I tried to do anything with them it was like trying to pick a balloon into a shed in a high wind." The historian of modern English and American poetry may sense himself in a similar fix. How does he pack the balloon containing Hardy, Frost, Pound, Eliot, Wallace Stevens, Amy Lowell, and D. H. Lawrence into one shed — with the winds of fashionable controversy blowing?

Historian David Perkins packs remarkably well, and without letting the air out of the balloon.

Volume One of what will eventually be a

two-volume history of modern poetry takes us from the 1890s to the mid-1920s, from Thomas Hardy through the publication of Eliot's "The Waste Land." Perkins' history has the fresh, engaging quality of good talk — neither both-ersomely quarrelsome nor quirkily brilliant. He grinds no poetical axes.

He is as fair with the currently unfashionable Edwardians, of whom he remarks wittily, "To them the zeitgeist was just a spook," as he is to the currently idolized W. C. Williams. His handling of Da La Mar's dreamy pastoralism is as suggestive and sympathetic as his handling of Pound's allegorical "Junkhouse details" to juxtapose diverse historical periods. But he allows Pound considerably more space.

There are useful cross-references from poetry to allied arts, parallels between Stravinsky's "Rite of Spring" and Eliot's early poems, Frost's acknowledged debt to Howells' novelistic record of the voice of people. No one ever brought them more freshly to

book." There is his placement of Yeats among the greatest writers of the 20th century, with Joyce, Mann, Proust, Kafka, Rilke and Eliot.

David Perkins is John P. Marquand Professor of English and American Literature at Harvard. He has previously written on Wordsworth, Shelley, and Keats. Here he provides a useful historical guidebook to the principal movements and figures in modern poetry. His easy manner invites the reader to enter the dialogue. Was Eliot a greater poet than Frost? Perkins won't say. He offers arguments on both sides, but modestly refuses a final judgment.

Upon its completion, Perkins' history may well become the standard work on its subject. It will certainly long remain the harried undergraduate's "What You Always Wanted to Know About Modern Poetry." But Were Afraid to Ask.

Victor Hlowes teaches English at Northern University.

Whitechapel Gallery: an artist's five-finger exercises

By Gerald Priestland

Shop early for Easter eggs and snive away! Shouts a sign near the Whitechapel Gallery, powerhouse of London's avant-garde art practitioners. This little promise of Spring is the more welcome, since inside the gallery all is wintry bleak.

All that is, apart from an exhibition in the refreshment room, about London's Peary Kings and Queens. From which I gratefully learn that the custom of sewing pearl buttons down over costermongers' clothing is barely 80 years old.

The major exhibition at the Whitechapel is far less jolly. Richard Long is showing three large works and a number of maps, charts and photographs on what have been called "clithonic" themes — and I am obliged to the col-

league who finally discovered in dictionary with the word "clithonic" in it: it means pertaining to the demons of earth.

The first manifestation of these demons consists of seven parallel rows of irregular slabs of slate, laid out along the floor of this warehouse-like gallery. You can walk round them, between them, but they don't really lie as you walking on them, even to vary the monotony. So: seven rows of slate.

Next, a long, narrow rectangular patch of driftwood; small planks and chunks evidently from a freshwater river; they don't have the interesting ground and bleached and bleached appearance of the sea driftwood you find cast up on beaches. But I take it Richard Long knows about this and has deliberately gone for rather dull debris.

There is a certain rhythm about the way it is arranged in interlocking parallelograms; if you look carefully.

The third large piece is a circle of twigs and branches, about 10 feet in diameter, laid flat on the floor like the other two. And again, if you look carefully you will see that they are arranged with a certain swirling movement. It is a pity the Whitechapel does not have a balcony of some sort from which the visitor could look down on these arrangements, and so recognize that they are less haphazard than they seem on the flat.

Or maybe I have got this wrong: for Richard Long is above all a walker, and it could be that the last thing he wants is for us to stand still; that he wants us to walk up and down and round his creations.

But he doesn't say, nor does the catalog, for

Long apparently hates being analyzed and explained: which is a pity, since the only fair way of judging an artist's work is to compare what he has done with what he is actually trying to do.

I had begun by assuming that Long's whirlpool of sticks was trying to tell us about their "clithonic"; to make one take slinks in the abstract, so to speak, contemplate them in their own right, detached from any function they normally have. Looked at that way, they can become objects of mystery and morbid.

The jagged slabs of slate, gets the same treatment. But if you look at the walls of the gallery, you see what else Long has been up to: he has been walking, or says he has, because there are the maps and photographs to prove it. He has walked from Stonehenge to Glastonbury, taking photographs, in one Midsummer's Day — which is an astonishing physical feat, it being more than 40 miles.

He has also walked past Mount Everest, and round in circles in the English midlands, and zigzagged in Canada, making and photographing various arrangements of stone as he goes.

Let it be said at once that the photographs he takes are very, very good: worthy of some of the best landscape photographers. There is one taken in a misty, devastated wood in Japan that is truly haunting — a haunting by those onlookers, perhaps.

Can't be that Richard Long wants us all to get bitten by the demons — to go out walking ourselves, and discover the procession of wood and twig and stone that unrolls beside us as we move? Well, I can say, because like so many

young artists of today, he simply doesn't care what we do about it all. In which case, why bother to exhibit? Why not just go on walking?

Which all proves that Richard Long does at least get on with work and arguing. It is hard to find anything serious to record about the man upstairs in this same gallery — a Dutch artist called Stanley Brown, who also walks, but not nearly so far.

Mostly he uses rather grubby bits of paper rubber-stamped with his name. Frequently that's all you get. Occasionally the artist — or, who knows? a friend — appears to have wheeled a stool across the gallery on a bicycle, or rested lightly upon it in sneakers.

As a special treat, Stanley has jotted down some shaky lines indicating (it may be) the way from the Central Amsterdam bus station to the nearest public toilet; or (perhaps I am wrong) how to mend a rusty door-latch.

High intensity boredom is provoked by a row of lovingly framed pieces of newspaper with five or six faint, parallel, vertical lines inscribed on them.

Let me make myself clear: I don't for a moment contest the right of anyone to do this sort of thing. If it pleases him, I don't even pretend that it's easy; that even a child could do it — because it isn't, and he or she couldn't. Wouldn't want to, actually.

Efforts like those at the Whitechapel are the artist's five-finger exercises, studies in limited areas. They are not serious public performances, and it does neither the artist nor the public a favor to exhibit them. Sticks and stones may break your bones, but Long's will only bore you.

travel

Sardinia: plenty of everything except, perhaps, sardines

By Louis Chaplin
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Cagliari, Sardinia
If you are planning a holiday trip to the Mediterranean, and like to sleep off the beaten path, don't overlook Sardinia. By air or by sea this mid-ocean island is easy to work into a flexible itinerary — in fact the variety of ship routes between Sardinia and the Italian mainland could offer you a low-cost, mini-Mediterranean cruise to add to an otherwise airborne trip.

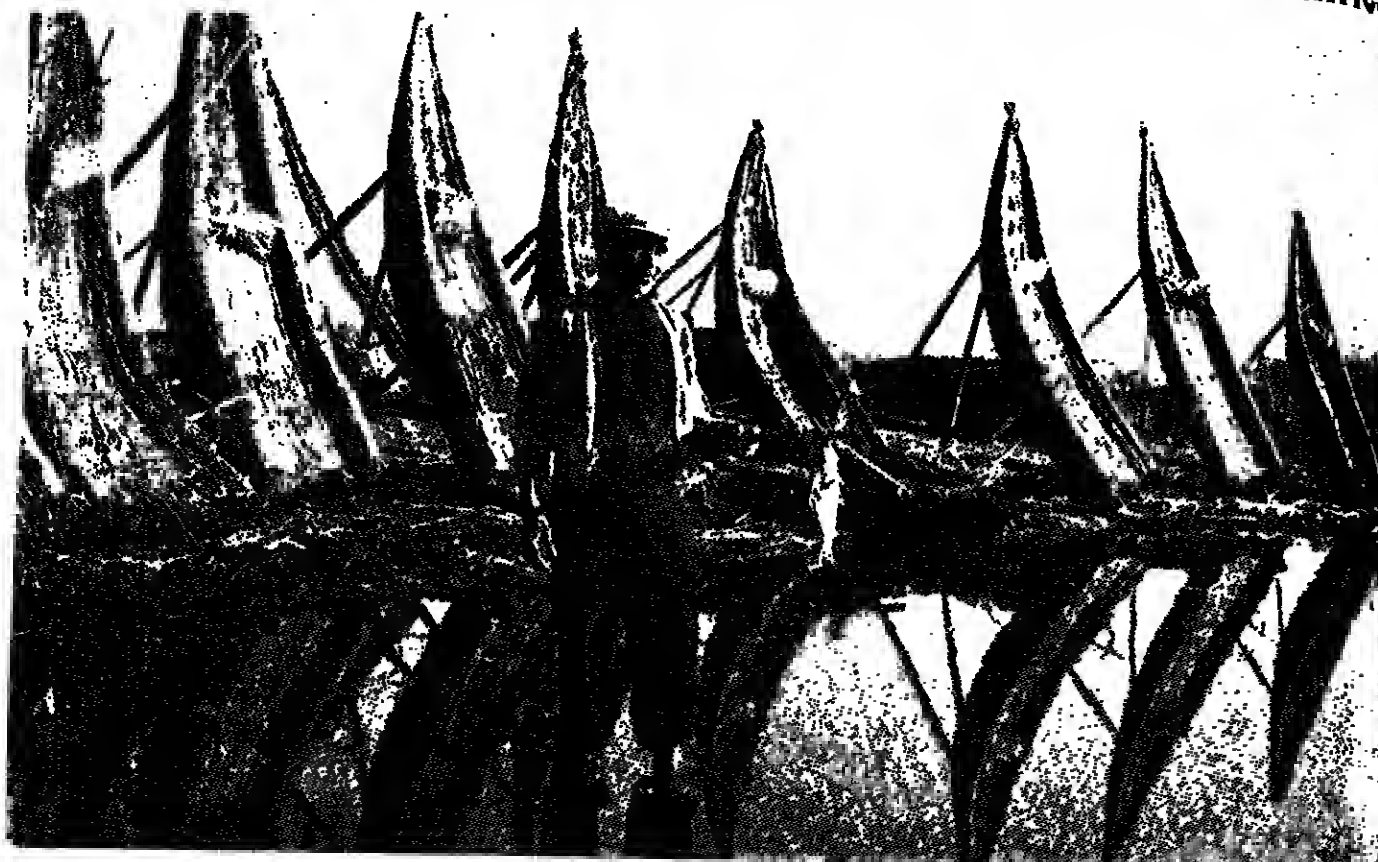
Here's one way to go: From Civitavecchia (near Rome) you can cross to Olbia, then angle your way south. When you're ready to leave Sardinia from its southern capital port of Cagliari, another sizable boat might take you to Naples or Palermo or all the way up to Genoa. And the sea part, including a berth for the night, could cost as little as \$30 a person from the mainland and back again.

The two main lines are the Tirrenia (with an office at 5, World Trade Center, New York) and the Canguro (via Piazza Ceffenu 4, 09100 Cagliari, Sardinia, Italy).

And what about the island itself? "Did you find sardines?" people asked me after a brief springtime visit, and I honestly had not looked for them. There was so much else to find: not only many delicious kinds of fish and lavishing pasta, but out the kitchen window a land of spiny hills and broad valleys, layered with history, end, brightened by its people's deep pride and open hospitality.

Most American contact with this independent-feeling province of Italy has been limited to a few hours ashore from a cruise ship. But Europeans, for some years now, have been finding first in the north, and more recently along the south coast, plenty of refreshing reasons for staying longer.

The northern resort areas well deserve such gleaming names as Costa Paradiso, Costa D'oro, Costa Smeralda; and the fishing port of Alghero, a short way down the west coast, shows in the simple, consistent form and elegant detail of its buildings that the Aragonese were very much a part of its history (13th through 18th centuries). Natural rock formations have their own brilliance, too, here as elsewhere, jutting out of the land and the sea and undling them underground in the spectacular Nepluna Grotto.



Fisherman dries his reed boats in Cagliari, Sardinia

The Italian Government

However splendid the north, I intended a recent trip to be my introduction to the newer recreational areas nearby the south coast capital city of Cagliari. This countryside is 100 miles or so nearer North Africa than the northern resorts, more continuously summery in its climate, and more Moorish in the architectural look of things.

The most impressive recreational development here, sloping down between rocky hills and the sea, now is drawing international attention through the 250-acre is Moss Golf Club of Santa Margherita di Pula. Here is not only a stiff championship course but also facilities for many other water and land sports. Condominium houses and a golf hotel are planned for those who like to be able to tee off practically from their front door.

For nongolfers there are inviting alternatives within a few miles. You don't need to

know a putt from a birdie to enjoy resorts which offer white beaches, pools, sailing, tennis, and more.

The most ambitious of these is the Hotel Costello and its adjoining Forte Village — a member of the British-based Trist Hotels Forte chain. It is no standardized lodging. Even more than other hotel and cottage facilities in the area, the Forte Village units seem to be woven lovingly in and out of their piney, eucalyptus-fragrant surroundings. The 55 ingeniously landscaped acres take in not only the cottages but a shopping plaza, an ecumenical church, a wide range of eating places, and sports running from basketball and football by way of six tennis courts to badminton and bowling — not to mention spinning from one to another of five fresh-water pools.

This is a great place for families, outdoors and in: there's a children's park and push

chairs, and the hotel lists 36 available pools. The cost? Less than you might think — actually if you avoid high season (June through September). With all meals, a cottage (two September and June 10 is under \$1,000 per person, even with only one occupant; children under 12 it's half price. Medium week from June 11 to July 8 and again from July 10 to Oct. 31 — costs about a fifth more.

By the way, the Forte Village is closed November through May. But the Hotel Costello comfortably accommodates visitors all year around. Cottage rates there are generally set by hotel rates, and at the nearby Hotel Marina, a cottage space with meals can be had for between Sept. 16 and June 30 at about \$1,100 per person, with 30 percent off for children to nine. At the Is Morus Hotel, the most closely elegant of all, costs for a double room from September up to mid-July are \$1,400 a day.

If you can tear yourself away from the coastal resorts, there's a fascinating, rugged interior to explore in the south of Sardinia. It is rich in traces of Carthaginian, Punic, Spanish, and medieval cultures. And, as for this island are the 7,000 miles of historic "nuraghe," conical forts built of huge blocks of unworked stone. I saw particularly well-developed one, with a capacity, at Barumini — an hour or so from Cagliari.

If you don't have a car, buses go almost everywhere, and there is a north-south train. Transatlantically speaking, the frequent air service (most often by way of Rome, Milan, and Athens) is excellent. But the next time I go around more of this hospitable island, I'm going to work in that \$30 Mediterranean cottage.

bench and watch the friendly, smiling Spaniards stream home from the various museums held at the town's cathedral.

Around noon the sidewalk cafes open for a few hours, and they offer a fine venue for people-watching. A light lunch or just a cool drink on a hot afternoon is inexpensive.

After a while, a walk out on the mile-long man-made point which stretches out into the Mediterranean might be in order. The boulder-lined area has a busy harbor on one side and the open sea on the other and could serve as a picnic site or a place to get a close look at that blue, blue water.

Admittedly, Tarragona is not a purely Spanish town. A large number of its businesses obviously rely on summer visitors, and the architecture of the several "tourist" hotels near the center of town could put them anywhere. But not far from that town center Tarragona's attempts to attract the tourist diminish, and the Spanish style becomes prevalent.

In any case, Tarragona is attractive. Visit just once and, like Publius Scipio, you'll want to stay and establish your own empire.

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French/German

M. Carter et le problème rhodésien

[Traduction d'un article paraissant à la page 30]

par Joseph C. Harsch

L'ambassadeur du président Carter auprès des Nations Unies, Andrew Young, est de retour à Washington après la première tournée outre-mer de politique étrangère de l'administration Carter. La tournée conduisit M. Young en Afrique noire, mais pas à ce qui reste d'Afrique blanche. Ainsi cela semblait vouloir dire que l'attitude de l'administration Carter envers l'Afrique est au moins aussi inclinée du côté noir que l'était celle de son prédécesseur.

C'est à cet égard seulement que le voyage n'est politique, mais c'est important dans la conjoncture actuelle. Voici l'arrière-plan qui en explique la raison.

Juqu'en 1974 la politique américaine envers l'Afrique australe était basée sur l'hypothèse que pour le futur prévisible les blancs continueraient à dominer politiquement dans toute cette région. Cela comprenait l'Afrique du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain, l'Angola, le Mozambique et la Rhodésie. Cette hypothèse a été sapée par la révolution portugaise de 1974. En conséquence de cette révolution, le Portugal a remis ses anciennes colonies d'Angola et du Mozambique aux noirs de ces pays.

Avant février 1976, il y a juste un an, les régimes noirs avaient en main l'administration des deux anciennes colonies portugaises. Cela amena le gouvernement noir à la frontière nord du Sud-Ouest africain (Namibie) et sur trois côtés de la Rhodésie, l'ouest, le nord et l'est. Elle se trouva presque entièrement entourée.

Cela a son tour occasionna un changement soudain dans la politique des Etats-Unis envers l'Afrique australe.

Au lieu de faire des affaires avec l'Afrique sous contrôle blanc en supposant que les blancs contrôlaient indéfiniment toute l'Afrique australe, elle fit un revirement sur l'hypothèse que la prise du gouvernement par les noirs est inévitable dans le proche avenir aussi bien pour la Rhodésie que pour le Sud-Ouest africain. L'attitude envers la République sud-africaine demeura ambiguë, étant donné que dans cette région, la minorité blanche est importante et établie depuis longtemps. Une grande partie de l'Afrique du Sud fut en réalité colonisée par les blancs avant l'arrivée des noirs.

Au sujet de la Rhodésie, la politique de Ford-Kissinger n'était pas ambiguë. La diplomatie américaine préconisait et poussait pour le « gouvernement de la majorité noire ». L'ancien secrétaire d'Etat, Henry Kissinger, essaya la diplomatie de la « navette » et pensa qu'il avait conduit le gouvernement rhodésien au point d'accepter de remettre le gouvernement du pays entre les mains des noirs avant deux ans. Sous la tutelle de Kissinger, une conférence sur la Rhodésie fut organisée à Genève. Elle commença en septembre et se poursuivait à différentes reprises jusqu'en décembre. En théorie tout au moins des négociations tendant à la remise du gouvernement entre les mains des noirs continuèrent jusqu'en janvier.

Lors du voyage de l'ambassadeur Young, le négociateur anglais, Ivor Richard, avait eu une dernière entrevue avec le premier ministre rhodésien, Ian Smith, le 10 janvier. L'installation du président Carter eut lieu à Washington le 20 janvier. Le premier ministre Smith annonça le fin de la négociation

d'après le « plan Kissinger » le 24 janvier. Le 31 janvier, l'ambassadeur Richard mit fin à sa mission de négociation.

La signification semble être suffisamment claire. M. Smith continua à rendre un certain hommage au plan Kissinger tant que M. Kissinger fut secrétaire d'Etat à Washington. Mais quand M. Kissinger retourna à la vie civile, M. Smith fit table rase et proposa de tout recommencer. Il pouvait espérer tout ou moins que l'administration Carter serait moins en faveur de l'idée du gouvernement des noirs que ne l'avait été M. Kissinger.

M. Smith cherche à gagner du temps. Mais le temps travaille-t-il pour lui? Il y a 270 000 blancs en Rhodésie contre 530 000 noirs. La proportion est de 24 noirs pour un blanc. L'armée de Rhodésie compte 9 200 hommes plus 8 000 territoriaux ou milice locale. La population blanche a commencé à diminuer. Elle a perdu environ 7 000 personnes au total en 1976.

On estime qu'il y a 2 500 guerilleros noirs opérant en ce moment à l'intérieur de la Rhodésie et 7 500 à l'extérieur au dehors. Il y a un flot continu de jeunes noirs se rendant de la Rhodésie aux camps d'entraînement du Mozambique. La lutte est continue et va en augmentant. Jusqu'à présent les pertes ont atteint le taux de 10 guerilleros tués pour chaque membre des forces rhodésiennes gouvernementales tuées.

M. Smith pourrait supporter les pertes de la guerre et peut-être même maintenir sa situation politique indéfiniment, s'il était soutenu par l'Afrique du Sud et s'il avait l'approbation et

l'appui des Etats-Unis. Mais l'Afrique du Sud ne peut pas soutenir M. Smith sans avoir au moins l'accord tacite des Etats-Unis, parce qu'elle aura besoin d'un grand approvisionnement en armes et d'un grand approvisionnement en matériel militaire pour résister à une attaque de la population noire.

Donc on en est réduit à se demander si le président Carter prendra en fait la même attitude envers la Rhodésie que celle que l'équipe Ford-Kissinger avait prise jusqu'à leur dernier jour de pouvoir. M. Smith espère évidemment un changement. Il voudrait persuader l'administration Carter que les habitants noirs rhodésiens sont des citoyens et non des dupes du communisme et que la véritable question en Rhodésie est la civilisation contre le communisme.

M. Carter et son secrétaire d'Etat, Cyrus Vance, n'ont pas encore eu le temps de mettre au point leur attitude vis-à-vis de la question noire contre la Rhodésie en Afrique australe en général et vis-à-vis de la Rhodésie en particulier. L'ambassadeur Young n'a pas été envoyé là-bas comme négociateur. Il n'a emporté aucun plan et n'en a pas emporté. Il est simplement allé écouter les leaders des pays les plus importants de l'Afrique noire.

Donc le seul fait nouveau dans tout ce tableau est que M. Carter a envoyé son ami personnel et ambassadeur auprès des Nations Unies, Andrew Young, en Afrique pour parler aux principaux leaders noirs et à M. Young est lui-même noir.

Il semblerait que M. Carter envoie un message préliminaire à M. Smith jusqu'à présent il n'y a aucun signe indiquant que M. Smith ait compris le message.

Rhodesien: ein Problem für Carter

[Dieser Artikel erscheint auf Seite 30 in englischer Sprache.]

Von Joseph C. Harsch

Präsident Carters Botschafter bei den Vereinten Nationen, Andrew Young, ist von seiner ersten außenpolitischen Reise ins Ausland als Vertreter der Regierung Carter nach Washington zurückgekehrt. Young besuchte das schwarze Afrika, aber nicht die Überreste des weißen Afrika. Damit sollte anscheinend gesagt werden, daß die Regierung Carter der schwarzen Seite mindestens ebenso geneigt ist wie ihr Vorgänger.

Nur in dieser Hinsicht war die Reise von politischer Bedeutung; doch es ist im Zusammenhang gesehen wichtig, die folgenden Fakten zu erklären, warum. Vor 1974 gründete sich die amerikanische Politik in bezug auf das südliche Afrika auf die Annahme, daß in der vorherrschenden Zeit die Weißen weltweit politisch das ganze Gebiet beherrschen würden, von Südafrika, Südwestafrika, Angola, Mozambique und Rhodesien einschließlich. Durch die portugiesische Revolution von 1974 wurde diese Annahme unterminiert. Das Ergebnis der Revolution war, daß Portugal seine alten Kolonien Angola und Mozambique an die einheimischen Schwarzen übergab.

Im Februar 1976, gerade vor einem Jahr, hatten schwarze Regime in den beiden ehemaligen portugiesischen Kolonien die Zügel fest in der Hand. Dies brachte schwarze Herrschaft an die nördliche Grenze Südafrikas (das heutige Namibia) und an drei Seiten Rhodesiens — im Westen, Norden und Osten. Es war praktisch auf allen Seiten von ihr umgeben.

Dies wiederum bewirkte einen plötzlichen Umschwung in der US-Politik

gegenüber dem südlichen Afrika. Anstatt mit dem weißen Afrika zu verhandeln, in der Annahme, die Weißen würden bis auf unbegrenzte Zeit das ganze südliche Afrika beherrschen, ging man zu der Vermutung über, daß die schwarze Herrschaft in Rhodesien und Südwestafrika sehr bald unvermeidlich sein würde. Die Haltung gegenüber der Republik Südafrika wurde nicht eindeutig festgelegt, da die weiße Minderheit dort groß und schon lange fest begründet ist. Ja, ein großer Teil Südafrikas wurde von den Weißen besiedelt, ehe die Schwarzen sich dort niederließen.

Die Ford-Kissinger-Politik in bezug auf Rhodesien war klar. Die amerikanische Diplomatie befürwortete und drängte auf die „Herrschaft der schwarzen Mehrheit“. Der ehemalige Außenminister Henry Kissinger versuchte es mit Pseudodiplomatie und glaubte die rhodesische Regierung so weit gebracht zu haben, daß sie sich damit einverstanden erklärte, innerhalb von zwei Jahren die Führung des Landes an die schwarze Mehrheit abzutreten. Unter der Leitung der Hand Kissingers wurde eine Rhodesien-Konferenz in Genf einberufen. Sie begann im September und wurde mit Unterbrechungen bis Dezember fortgesetzt. Theoretisch fanden die Verhandlungen, die eine Machtübergabe an die schwarze Mehrheit zum Ziel haben, bis Januar statt.

Als Botschafter Young Afrika betrat, führte der britische Vermittler Ivor Richard am 10. Januar sein letztes Gespräch mit dem rhodesischen Ministerpräsidenten Ian Smith. Am 20. Januar übernahm Präsident Carter in Washington sein Amt. Am 24. Januar gab Ministerpräsident Smith das Ende der Verhandlungen unter dem „Kissinger-Plan“ bekannt. Am 31. Januar

brach Botschafter Richard seine Verhandlungen ab.

Was dies bedeutet, scheint ziemlich klar zu sein. Smith erklärte sich nur dem Schein nach mit dem Kissinger-Plan einverstanden, solange Dr. Kissinger Außenminister in Washington war. Aber als Dr. Kissinger in das Zivilleben zurückkehrte, machte Smith alles wieder rückgängig und schlug vor, von neuem zu beginnen. Er konnte zumindest hoffen, daß die Regierung Carter der Idee einer schwarzen Herrschaft weniger zugetan sein würde als Dr. Kissinger.

Smith sucht Zeit zu gewinnen. Aber hilft ihm Zeit? Rhodesien hat 270.000 weiße und 530.000 schwarze Einwohner. Auf jeden Weißen entfallen 24 Schwarze. Die Streitkräfte Rhodesiens umfassen 9.200 Männer und 8.000 Mitglieder des Zivilschutzes. Die Zahl der weißen Bevölkerung beginnt abzunehmen. 1976 sank sie um 7.000.

Schätzungsweise 2.500 schwarze Guerillas sind jetzt in Rhodesien aktiv, und 7.500 werden außerhalb Rhodesiens ausgebildet. Junge Schwarze strömen ununterbrochen aus Rhodesien in die Guerilla-Ausbildungslager in Mozambique. Kämpfe sind an der Tagesordnung, und sie nehmen zu. Die Verluste der rhodesischen Streitkräfte und der Guerillas stehen bis jetzt im Verhältnis 1:10.

Smith könnte die Kriegsverluste ertragen und seine politische Stellung vielleicht bis auf ungewisse Zeit behaupten, wenn Südafrika ihm beistünde und die Vereinigten Staaten ihn billigten und unterstützten. Aber Südafrika kann Smith nicht unterstützen — zumindest nicht ohne die stillschweigende Zustimmung der Vereinigten Staaten — weil

es eines Tages amerikanische Hilfe im Anspruch nehmen wollen, um sich eigenes Problem mit seiner schwarzen Bevölkerung zu lösen.

Es kommt nun also darauf an, ob Präsident Carter tatsächlich dieselbe Haltung gegenüber Rhodesien einnehmen wird, die das Ford-Kissinger-Team bis zum letzten Tag seiner Amtszeit eingenommen hat. Offensichtlich hofft die Regierung Carter gern davon über die rhodesische Regierung zu überzeugen, daß die weiße Regierung zugehen will, entweder Agenden der Schwarzen des Kommunismus sind oder daß das eigentliche Problem in Rhodesien die Zivilliberalisation oder Kommunismus ist.

Carter und sein Außenminister Vance haben noch keine Zeit gehabt, ihre Einstellung zu dem Problem der Schwarzen und der Weißen in südlichem Afrika im allgemeinen und zu Rhodesien im besonderen auszuformulieren. Botschafter Young wurde nicht als Vorkurs nach Afrika geschickt. Er hat keinen Plan mit sich, noch bringt er einen zurück. Er ging allein mit der Absicht, den Führern der größten und bedeutendsten Länder im schwarzen Afrika zuzuhören.

Die einzige neue Tatsache im Gesamtbild ist also die, daß Carter bei den Vereinten Nationen unter der Führung von Andrew Young nach Afrika schickte, um mit den schwarzen Führern zu sprechen. Und Young selbst ist schwarz.

Anschließend gab Carter dem rhodesischen Ministerpräsidenten Smith einen Hinweis, daß er nicht weiter gehen darf, was die Unterstützung der Vereinigten Staaten angeht.

French/German

Le pouvoir divin

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
[Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine]

Dans les premiers jours de l'ère de l'ordinateur, une bande dessinée montrait un immense ordinateur avec une armée de techniciens fourmillant autour de la machine, essayant de déceler une erreur. De l'autre côté de la pièce se trouvait un homme debout près d'une prise de courant dans le mur, tenant le fil électrique relié à la machine et le regardant d'un air moqueur. Personne n'avait établi le contact entre l'ordinateur et le courant électrique.

Dans une maison ayant un grand nombre d'appareils électriques de toutes sortes, ce genre de choses n'est pas rare. Nous étudions les instructions de mise en marche, mais parfois nous négligeons la partie essentielle qui est de brancher l'appareil à la prise.

Nous agissons de cette façon même dans notre vie. Nous sommes bien informés en ce qui nous concerne, mais négligeons la partie essentielle qui est d'établir un contact spirituel avec Dieu — reconnaissant notre unité avec Dieu, la source de tout être.

Le Psalmiste, parlant pour nous tous, a dit : « C'est Dieu qui me ceint de force, et qui me conduit dans la voie droite. »

La Science Chrétienne, révélant la nature spirituelle de l'enseignement de la Bible, nous montre que Dieu est l'Esprit divin, et l'homme — créé à la ressemblance de Dieu, comme nous le dit la Bible — est entièrement spirituel et bon. Dieu et l'homme — l'Entendement divin et l'idée divine.

Afin d'être plus actifs et plus efficaces dans nos occupations quotidiennes, il nous faut être plus conscients de notre identité spirituelle véritable et de notre relation à Dieu. Il nous faut établir mentalement une compréhension plus profonde du pouvoir divin et de notre capacité de refléter le pouvoir divin.

Nous pouvons accomplir cela grâce à la prière.

Grâce à la prière nous devenons plus conscients de notre unité spirituelle avec tout ce qui est bon. En vérité, nous ne sommes jamais séparés de Dieu, et notre compréhension de ce fait rend l'amour et la bonté de Dieu plus efficacement vivants

dans notre vie quotidienne. Lorsque nous communiquons avec Dieu par la prière, nous ressentons le pouvoir guérisseur et stimulant de l'Amour divin.

Christ Jésus démontra ce pouvoir. Il ressuscita les morts, guérit les boiteux, les aveugles et les sourds. Il guérit la maladie et régénéra hommes et femmes. Tout cela grâce à des moyens spirituels seulement. Jésus reconnaissait constamment que Dieu était le seul pouvoir à la base de ses œuvres de guérison. Il dit : « Le Père qui demeure en moi, c'est lui qui fait les œuvres. »

Jésus révéla que la nature et le caractère de Dieu sont tout aimants. Et Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, écrivit : « La partie vitale, le cœur et l'âme de la Science Chrétienne, c'est l'Amour. »

La prière, comprise spirituellement, comprend un élément essentiel, qui est la

prise de conscience spirituelle profonde, de la nature toute aimante de Dieu. Dans la prière scientifique qui guérit, il n'y a pas de supplication adressée à Dieu ou de récit de malheurs. Une connaissance tranquille, exprimée activement, est la méthode pratique de la prière affirmative — la prière qui donne de bons résultats. L'Amour divin guérit.

A l'époque de Jésus le pouvoir de l'Amour divin rendit vie et activité à un sens de l'existence humaine dépourvu de vie. Aujourd'hui, grâce à une compréhension scientifique et spirituelle de la vérité révélée par Jésus et à l'application pieuse de cette compréhension, une guérison similaire a lieu à travers le monde entier.

Mrs. Eddy dit simplement : « La Vérité est révélée. Il n'y a qu'à la mettre en pratique. »

La prière est la clé de la vie et de la

guérison chrétiennes marquées de succès. La base de la prière efficace est notre compréhension spirituelle de Dieu et de l'homme. Afin d'exprimer de façon plus intelligente la Vérité, la Vie et l'Amour divins, il nous faut être conscients de notre unité avec notre source divine. Il nous faut connaître Dieu et vivre son amour dans l'existence quotidienne.

« Psaume 18:33; Jean 14:10; Science et Santé avec le Chef des Ecritures, p. 113; Science et Santé, p. 174.

« Christian Science », prononcer "kristi-an" "sai-ens" "s" "science"

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, "Science et Santé avec le Chef des Ecritures" de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec la même anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans la Salle de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou la commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Göttliche Macht

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englischer Sprache erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
[Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich]

sagte: „Gott rüstet mich mit Kraft und macht meine Wege ohne Tadel.“

Die Christliche Wissenschaft*, die die geistige Natur der biblischen Lehren enthillt, zeigt uns, daß Gott göttlicher Geist ist und daß der Mensch — zu Gottes Ebenbild geschaffen, wie uns die Bibel sagt — völlig geistig und gut ist. Gott und der Mensch — das göttliche Gemüt und die göttliche Idee.

Um in unseren täglichen Angelegenheiten tätig und erfolgreicher zu sein, müssen wir uns unserer wahren, geistigen Identität und unserer Beziehung zu Gott mehr bewußt sein. Wir müssen ein tieferes Verständnis von der göttlichen Macht und unserer Fähigkeit, göttliche Macht widerzuspiegeln, gewinnen.

Wir können dies durch Gebet tun.

Durch Gebet werden wir uns unserer geistigen Einheit mit allem Guten mehr bewußt. In Wirklichkeit sind wir niemals von Gott getrennt, und unser Verständnis

dieser Tatsache läßt Gottes Liebe und Güte in unsrem täglichen Leben lebendiger werden. Wenn wir mit Gott durch Gebet verbunden sind, fühlen wir die stärkende, heilende Macht der göttlichen Liebe.

Christus Jesus demonstrierte diese Macht. Er weckte die Toten auf, heilte die Lahmen, Blinden und Tauben. Er heilte Krankheits und wandelte die Menschen um, und das alles nicht durch geistige Mittel. Jesus erkannte stets an, daß Gott die einzige Macht hinter seinen Heilungswerken war. „Der Vater aber, der in mir wohnt, der tut seine Werke“, sagte er.

Jesus zeigte, daß das Wesen Gottes allbelebend ist. Und Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, schreibt: „Das Lebenselement, das Herz und die Seele der Christlichen Wissenschaft, ist Liebe.“

Gebet, geistig verstanden, schließt als wesentliches Element ein tiefes, geistiges Verständnis von Gottes allbelebendem Wesen ein. Das wissenschaftliche, heilende Gebet ist kein Anflehen Gottes noch ein Aufzählen unserer Sorgen. Stilles Wissen, tätig zum Ausdruck gebracht, ist die praktische Methode des bejahenden Gebets — des Gebets, das zu guten Ergebnissen führt. Die göttliche Liebe heilt.

Zu Jesu Zeiten brachte die Macht der göttlichen Liebe einer abgestumpften Auffassung vom menschlichen Dasein Leben und Tüchtigkeit. Heute findet diese Art von Heilen überall in der Welt statt, und zwar durch ein geistiges, wissenschaftliches Verständnis der Wahrheit, die Jesus enthüllte, und durch gebetsvolle Anwendung dieses Verständnisses.

Mrs. Eddy sagt einfach: „Wahrheit ist geoffenbart. Sie muß nur betätigt werden.“

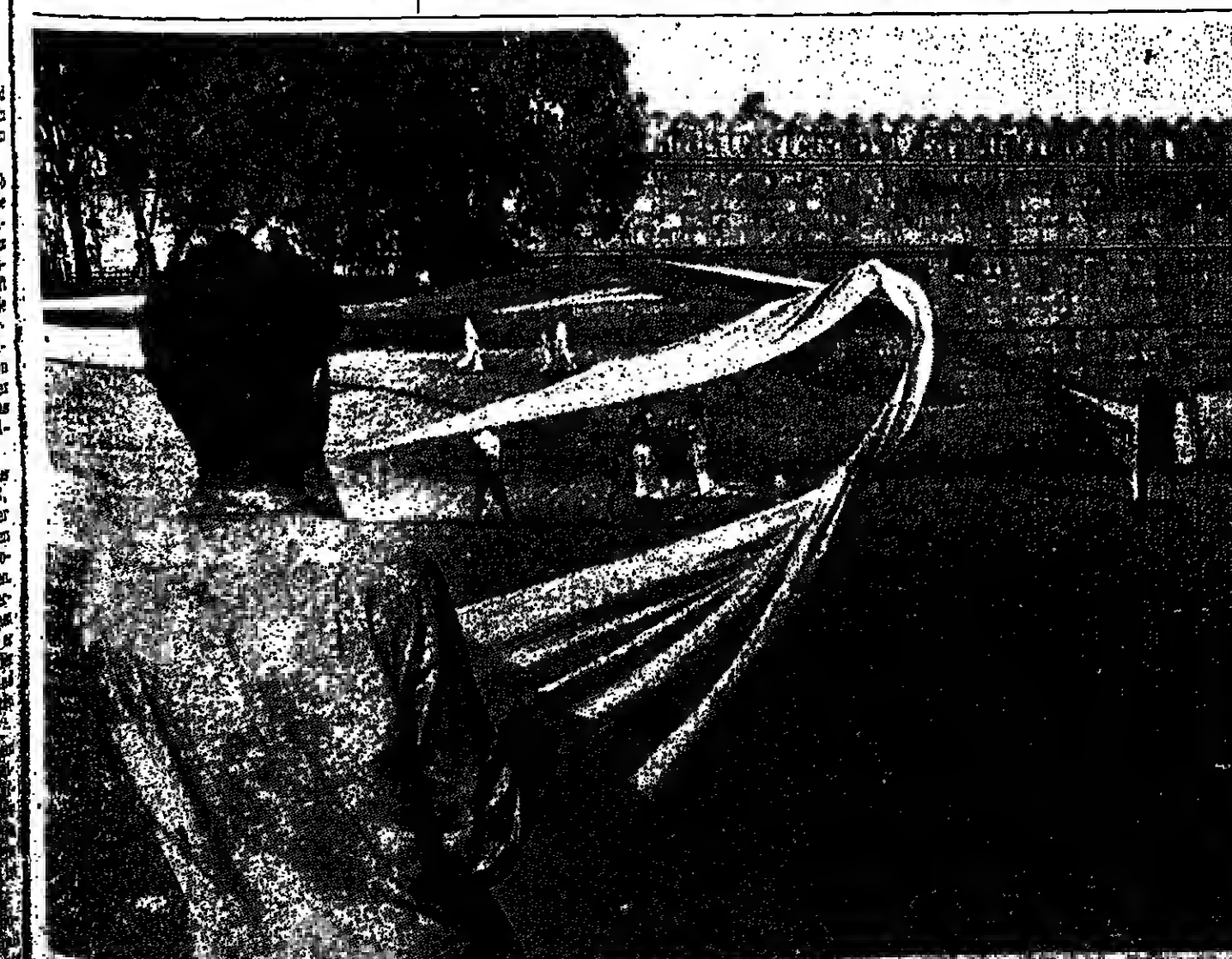
Der Schlüssel zu erfolgreichem, heilendem Leben und Heilen ist Gebet. Die Grundlage wirkungsvollen Gebets ist unser geistiges Verständnis von Gott und dem Menschen. Um auf intelligentere Weise die göttliche Wahrheit, das göttliche Leben und die göttliche Liebe auszudrücken, müssen wir unsere Einheit mit unserer göttlichen Quelle verstehen. Wir müssen Gott kennen und Seine Liebe im täglichen Leben in die Tat umsetzen.

« Psalm 18:33; Johannes 14:10; Wissenschaft und Gesundheit, p. 113; Wissenschaft und Gesundheit, p. 174.

« Christian Science », sprechen "kristi-an" "sai-ens" "s" "science"

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, "Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zum Heiligen Geist" von Mary Baker Eddy, ist in der gleichen Sprache wie das englische Original. Sie kann in der Halle der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden, oder bei Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Für alle Informationen über andere Veröffentlichungen der Christlichen Wissenschaft in deutscher Sprache, schreiben Sie an The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



Textile workers in Old Delhi take advantage of breezy day to dry newly dyed fabric.



'The Miraculous Draught of Fishes' 1618: Oil on canvas by Peter Paul Rubens

Courtesy of The National Gallery, London

The richness of Rubens

It's easy to guess that Peter Paul Rubens would have found "The Miraculous Draught of Fishes" an appealing subject. It's difficult to think of an artist who shows in his pictures more abundance, more fecundity. "Plenty" is virtually his hallmark.

The narrative in Luke records that "When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord. For he was astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which they had taken."

This is the instant Rubens lighted on. But typically not everything in the painting contributes to this single event. Instead there is a great surge of activity and life, a plural melody of muscular and elemental energy. The realization of the "weightless" spiritual power involved in the miraculous draught is still the crux of the picture, but the artist's imagination has taken off and touched the story with a feel for the sheer exuberant vitality of wind, and wave, and shore; the billowing passage of the clouds; the tossed equilibrium of the sea birds.

Echoes of the Renaissance masters recur in Rubens' work, but marvellously absorbed into the constancy of his own vision. Michelangelo and Raphael, studied and copied by the Flemish painter in Italy, are clearly among the ancestors of even such a quick study as "The Miraculous Draught of

Fishes." Heinrich Wölfflin, in his "Principles of Art History," makes a revealing comparison between this Rubens (then attributed to Van Dyck), and Raphael's treatment of the same subject in one of his tapestry cartoons.

The Raphael, writes Wölfflin, is "a specially fine example of the plane-style: . . . the boats with the six men are combined in a quiet plane-form with a splendid run of the line from the left to the height of St. Andrew

standing, and a highly effective fall just in front of Christ."

Rubens, on the other hand, "intensifies the movements of the figures, . . . counteracts the plane and, by displacement of the boats, still more by the movement introduced from the foreground, disintegrates the old plane picture into strongly emphasized receding sequences."

Later in the same book Wölfflin describes the style of another Rubens in a way that in-

dicates how the 17th century artist transformed Renaissance precedents into his own terms: ". . . the motives kneaded together, and foreground and background carried by each other in a uniform drift of movement, without caesura. Tree and mountain work together with the figures and the lighting completes the effect. Everything is one. But out of the stream the wave rises here and there with surpassing force."

Everything "is one" in this little preparatory sketch also. The uncorrected confidence, the freshness and directness of the work, makes the viewer feel he is not only vividly experiencing the exhilaration of wonder and awe, but also the exhilaration of the artist's brush-and-paint. Identify themselves with wind and atmosphere. It makes one ask: what other painting can have given off such a sense of weather?

Rubens used very limited colors in most of his preparatory studies; the tones here are silvery blues and browns. But nothing seems to be missing. The virtuosity of the brush and touches and twists of the brush are amazing. Delacroix came up with an apt phrase: "His (Rubens') principal quality is a phrase: 'His (Rubens') principal quality is a prodigious spirit, that is to say, a prodigious life."

Christopher Anderson

Minimal word			
The shadowy wonder	of the not-yet-known	Only this cradle	lifted high
How still — still	to be trembled through	This little flame	that does not yield
No battering-ram	can serve at all	Before perchultimate	mystery
No drive by will	here seize upon	But holds! — to show	how all the time
What lies beyond present	grape of gaze	Each faltering step	remains within
		The same, advancing	ring of light
			Doris Peel

I meant to write you...

A delightful habit, and one that should be cultivated, is to write and thank people who have given you pleasure, to authors and artists and entertainers, to opera singers who have made you cry and comedians who have made you laugh. For many years I have done this, or, to be strictly truthful, have often meant to do it but have somehow not got round to it.

Normally I confine my eulogies to the above-mentioned aesthetes, but I am beginning to realize that the field for tributes should be considerably widened. As a matter of fact I do annually write a congratulatory letter for the firm which takes down my sun-blinders, brushes them, ties them up in polythene, and stacks them in the garage. This is done with such speed and efficiency I am almost in tears, for there is nothing so beautiful to see as a job well done. With a definite pricking behind the eyes I pen a rush of compliments. In fact it is a love letter I write to the firm's manager.

I believe this outburst of emotion should be extended. To include practically everyone. I see I have been remiss in not writing before now to congratulate the laundry on actually returning, clean, all the items I have sent them to wash. Perhaps when I wish to complain, which is not infrequently, my grumble could be mitigated by a kind and encouraging word, something to the effect that despite the mark that looks like oil on one of the shirts and despite sending us somebody else's tow-

els, they must be complimented on the sheets, which look marvellous; not a tear anywhere?

Everybody wants to be loved, to be encouraged, and it strikes me as unfair that only individuals get our written praise. It is, perhaps, a little optimistic to write to a large supermarket to tell them that the cashier on the second gate from the left on Wednesday afternoon was especially cooperative about some missing cornflakes, but in England, at any rate, there are still enough smaller shops for equivalent messages to seep through to particular persons.

"I cannot delay in writing to felicitate you on the excellence of your turbot, dear Mr. Cooper," I shall write. "How wonderful of you to have bent that thing in the cistern the right way, dear Mr. Ludgrove. I was so delighted to find, when I got home, that it worked." "I'm afraid this isn't quite the brand I wanted, Miss Spender, but it is very, very nearly right. So good of you to take all this trouble, and if you can't find one to match the pattern I sent you it doesn't matter a bit. Thanks for a good try." "Many thanks for such splendid eggs, dear United Dairies. I hardly like to break them, they look so brown and pretty!"

I can see it is going to be a little bit wearing writing so many billets dour, but I am thoroughly determined to spread love. Well I mean, it can't do any harm.

Virginia Graham

A cuckoo in the works

If the proverb — that fact is stranger than fiction — is true, then undeniably strange facts outdo fiction at its strangest imaginable. In this regard, how firm is the line between fictionists and scientists?

It is timely today for scientists to say Outer Space is probably inhabited by intelligent beings. If such is the case, could the intelligentia out there imagine some of the strange facts of life on Earth?

Take what we can do with clocks, for a start.

According to Bronowski, in his "Ascent of Man," clocks contribute to man's ascent. As he ascends, while keeping time, not only does he aspire to control his environment, but also he finds powers, such as gravity, ready to work overtime in his behalf. In addition to its regular work of keeping celestial bodies on course, gravity drops the weights, that pull the chains, that turn the wheels of his cuckoo-clocks.

Wherefore, if Space is bent, and so is Time, as Einstein once thought, and man's aspirations are to be fulfilled, he will reach all the way around Space-Time and back to control himself. Complete control will amount to self-control. Clocks will have helped — and not negligibly, at that.

Man's worldly work having been done, his recompense would be retirement. But to retire after, say, 80 billion years of interesting work, could be a bore, astronomical in extent. It would drive him out of his cosmos, into nowhere, there to rebuild Space and Time from any spare parts he chanced to

take along. Clearly, one of them would have to be a clock.

Before this occurs, if intellectuals from Space, conceivably of some green colored race, should land on Earth, peradventure in the Schwarzwald country of Baden-Württemberg, they might find a sort of cuckoo-clock cult holding sway around the manufacture of those timepieces. Would it seem to them unimaginably strange that on Earth a cuckoo, of all things, has something important with the Space-Time measuring instrument to which the sway of the cult adheres?

When Earth has spun one eighth of a turn on its axis, and again at five eighths, not to mention the other spaces, this instrument goes: "Whirr-CUCKOO! Whirr-CUCKOO! Whirr-CUCKOO!" meaning in a sense known only to Earthlings. "Three o'clock." Wherefore, when it is exported to lands where a rescue rite known as Daylight Saving is observed, the same measurements become fifteen degrees off the mark!

If the visitors from Space pointed this out to the guardians of the clocks, in their Black Forest groves, the answer they would get, as likely as not, would be a cheerful but cryptic, "Ja, wohl!"

As we wind our way through the Space-Time bends, measuring every inch-second of the way, up, down, around and back, in a maneuver called an ascent, where is our warring line today, the line between fiction and fact?

What time is it, by the way? Peter Hopkins

The Monitor's religious article

Divine power

In the early days of the computer era a cartoon showed a huge computer with an army of technicians swarming over it, trying to locate a fault. Across the room a man is standing beside a power socket on the wall, holding the cable lead from the machine and looking at it quizzically. No one has connected the computer to the power supply.

In a home with many electrical gadgets and devices this kind of occurrence is not uncommon. We study the operating instructions but sometimes neglect the essential part of plugging in and switching on.

We even do it with our lives. We become knowledgeable about ourselves but forget the essential part of making spiritual "contact" with God — recognizing our unity with God, the source of all being.

The Psalmist, speaking for all of us, said, "It is God that girdeth me with strength, and maketh my way perfect."

Christian Science, unfolding the spiritual nature of the Bible teaching, shows us that God is divine Spirit, and man — made in God's likeness, as the Bible tells us — is wholly spiritual and good. God and man — divine Mind and divine idea.

To be more active and effective in our daily affairs we need to be more conscious of our true, spiritual identity and of our relationship to God. We need to mentally establish a deeper understanding of divine power and of our ability to reflect divine power. We can do this through prayer.

Through prayer we become more conscious of our spiritual unity with all that is good. We are never, in truth, separated from God, and our understanding of this fact makes God's love and goodness more effectively alive in our daily lives. When we communicate with God through prayer we feel the energizing, healing power of divine Love.

Christ Jesus demonstrated this power. He raised the dead, healed the lame, the blind, and the deaf. He cured disease and regenerated men and women. All through spiritual means alone. Jesus constantly acknowledged God as the only power behind his healing works. "The Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works," he said.

The nature and character of God, Jesus revealed, is all-loving. And Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes, "The vital part, the heart and soul of Christian Science, is Love."

Prayer, spiritually understood, includes, as an essential element, a deep, spiritual realization of God's all-loving nature. There is no pleading with God or recounting of woes in scientific, healing prayer. Quiet knowing, actively expressed, is the practical method of affirmative prayer — the prayer that brings good results. Divine Love heals.

In Jesus' time the power of divine Love brought life and activity to a deadened sense of human existence. Today, through spiritual, scientific understanding of the truth revealed by Jesus, and through prayerful application

of this understanding, similar healing is taking place all over the world.

Mrs. Eddy says simply: "Truth is revealed. It needs only to be practised."

The key to successful Christian living and healing is prayer. The basis of effective prayer is our spiritual understanding of God and man. To be more intelligently expressive of divine Truth, Life, and Love we need to realize our unity with our divine source. We need to know God and to live His love in daily life.

*Psalms 18:32; **John 14:10; †Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 113; ‡Science and Health, p. 174.

A search that satisfies

Today perhaps more than at any time in recent history long-held concepts are being challenged. Beliefs about religion, about God, about health, about the very substance of things are changing. There is a searching and rethinking going on.

In a deeply satisfying way Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy provides a solid basis for rethinking basic assumptions. This book can help its readers understand God. It will help them look beneath the claims of material reality to the permanent truth of spiritual creation. This spiritualization of thought brings healing and a Christian purpose to living.

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The law of truth was in his mouth,
and iniquity was not found in his
lips: he walked with me in peace
and equity, and did him many
ways from iniquity.

Malachi 2:6

OPINION AND...

Joseph C. Harsch

Mr. Carter's Rhodesian problem

President Carter's Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, is back in Washington after the first overseas foreign policy tour of the Carter administration. The tour took Mr. Young to black Africa, but not to what is left of white Africa. Thus it seemed to say that the attitude of the Carter administration toward Africa is at least as tilted toward the black side as was that of its predecessor.

That is the only respect in which the trip made policy, but that is important in the context. Here is the background which explains why.

Until 1974 American policy toward southern Africa was based on the assumption that for the foreseeable future whites would continue to be politically dominant in the whole of the area. This included South Africa, South-West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, and Rhodesia. That assumption was undermined by the Portuguese revolution of 1974. As a result of that revolution Portugal handed its nearest colonies of Angolan and Mozambique over to the local blacks.

By February of 1975, just a year ago, black regimes were in firm control of both former Portuguese colonies. That brought black rule to the northern border of South-West Africa (Namibia) and to three sides of Rhodesia — west, north, and east. It was all but surrounded.

This in turn caused a sudden change in U.S. policy toward southern Africa. Instead of doing business with white Africa on the assumption that whites would indefinitely control all of southern Africa it was swung over to the assumption that black rule is inevitable in the near future for both Rhodesia and South-West Africa. The attitude toward the Republic of South Africa was left ambiguous since the white minority there is large, and long established. Much of South Africa was actually settled by whites before the arrival of blacks.

On Rhodesia, Ford-Kissinger policy was not ambiguous. American diplomacy advocated and pushed for "black majority rule." Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger tried shuttle diplomacy and thought he had brought the Rhodesian Government to the point of agreeing to hand over control of the country to black rule within two years. Under Kissinger tutelage a conference on Rhodesia was set up in Geneva. It started in September and continued off and on through December. In theory at least negotiations looking toward a hand-over to black rule continued into January.

At the time of Ambassador Young's trip, British negotiator Ivor Richard had a last talk with Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith on Jan. 18. President Carter was inaugurated in Washington on Jan. 20. Prime Minister Smith had announced an end to negotiation under the "Kissinger plan" on Jan. 24. On Jan.

31, Ambassador Richard had disbanded his negotiating mission.

The meaning seems to be fairly clear. Mr. Smith continued to pay lip service to the Kissinger plan so long as Dr. Kissinger was Secretary of State in Washington. But when Dr. Kissinger returned to civilian status Mr. Smith wiped the slate clean and proposed to start over again. He could at least hope that the Carter administration would be less devoted to the idea of black rule than had Dr. Kissinger.

Mr. Smith is playing for time. But is time on his side?

There are 270,000 whites in Rhodesia against 6,530,000 blacks. The ratio is 24 blacks to each white. The Rhodesian armed forces number 9,200 men plus 6,000 territorials or local militia. The white population has begun to shrink. It lost about 7,000 net in 1976.

There are an estimated 2,500 black guerrillas now operating inside Rhodesia and 7,500 in training on the outside. There is a steady flow of young blacks from inside Rhodesia to the guerrilla training camps in Mozambique and Zambia. Fighting is continuous and increasing. Casualties, so far, have been running at the rate of 10 guerrillas killed to each member of the Rhodesian Government forces killed.

Mr. Smith could sustain the war losses and his political position perhaps even indefinitely if he had the backing of South Africa and the approval and support of the United States. But

South Africa cannot support Mr. Smith without at least the tacit consent of the United States, because it will someday want American help in working out its own problem with its own black people.

So it comes down to whether President Carter will in fact take the same attitude toward Rhodesia that the Ford-Kissinger team was taking up to their last day in office. Mr. Smith obviously hopes for a change. He would like to persuade the Carter administration that the dissident Rhodesian blacks are either agents or dupes of communism and that the real issue in Rhodesia is civilization versus communism.

Mr. Carter and his Secretary of State Cyrus Vance have not yet had time to work out their attitude toward the black versus white issue in southern Africa in general or toward Rhodesia in particular. Ambassador Young was not sent over as a negotiator. He did not take over any plan, or bring one back. He only went to listen to the leaders of the bigger and more important of the black African countries.

So the only new fact in the whole picture is that Mr. Carter sent his personal friend and Ambassador, Andrew Young, to Africa to talk to leading black leaders. And Mr. Young himself is black.

It would seem that Mr. Carter was sending a preliminary message to Mr. Smith. As yet, there is no sign that Mr. Smith got the message.

Do babies make good economists?

Melvin Maddocks

A project with the business-like name of Kinder-Economy has been introduced to the public schools of Utah and California. Kinder-Economy, it seems, is a program devised by economists at the University of California at Los Angeles to teach "economic concepts" to five-year-olds.

How do you turn the sandbox set into John Maynard Keynes? Kinder-Economy is no simplistic charade of show-and-tell. Subjects as advanced as "cost-benefit analysis" are taught. At the end of a semester kindergarteners score better in "understanding of economic concepts" than the average kindergarten teacher.

To say nothing of their parents.

Just how economically dumb their parents are is proven by the fact that they happen to be parents at all, to the same issue of the New York Times reporting Kinder-Economy there is the staggering news that a child born in New York City this year will cost an estimated \$84,777 to rear from birth to 18th year.

Given the new economic sophistication of children and the economic backwardness of their parents (who take on this mini-version of the national debt with nothing more than a dazed smile and a "Cootchy-coo!"), the following dialogue may soon become standard:

The scene is a rather meagerly burdened dinner table. Mother and Father are defending themselves against

their five-year-old, John Kenneth Goldbreath, who is waving a mean fork in their direction.

Mother: John, I do the best I can, with the money I have, to serve a delicious meal.

JKG: No, Mother, you don't. How many times do I have to tell you? Follow the sales leaders. Buy chicken and fish instead of beef. And you can serve nourishing, tasty meals at far less cost than this... this... cesserole. What makes you think you can get away with anything if you add a sprig of parsley?

Father: As a matter of fact, your mother and I have been talking, and we've decided you're the disaster in our budget. If I may say so, you're doing to us what the Vietnam war did to the Great Society. Do you get my metaphor?

Mother (gently but firmly): Dear, what your father means is... we've been asking ourselves lately, "Is our Johnny worth it? Is he worth nearly \$5 billion?"

JKG (whipping out his slide-rule): That's a good cost-benefit point. \$84,777 would buy you six or seven Cadillacs. Or about 60 tours of Europe, Africa, Asia, or, for goodness sakes, the Antarctic. Or a pretty neat house. Probably with a swimming pool.

Father: Stop! You're driving me wild. Mother: Oh dear! I wish you didn't make it all sound so good.

JKG: On the other hand, I've been of service. I've been of utility, as Jeremy Bentham would say. If it weren't for me, you'd sleep late. Eat out at expensive restaurants. Spoil yourselves rotten. I've tuned you up. Kept you lean and hungry — as alert as a pedestrian on a New York crosswalk when the light changes.

\$84,777? That's less than \$5,000 a year. You're getting my services at a giveaway rate. I figure I'm worth at least \$10,000 a year on the side.

Father: That does it. I'm tempted to cut my losses as far as you're concerned.

JKG: First you've got to read my bedtime Adam Smith.

Father: You mean "The Money Game"? JKG: No. "The Wealth of Nations." Children are like colonies, and Adam Smith says parent countries should be very, very nice to colonies. Being nice to colonies will pay off in the end.

Father: You mean you'll give me another hot tip on the market from your Kinder-Economy class?

JKG: If you read especially well, we'll see. Father: All right. All right. "Chapter Nine. The rise and fall in the profits of stocks depend upon the same causes..."

Readers write

Russia's MIG, America's energy, and Britain's workingman

General Keegan's letter taking issue with a Joseph Harsch column uses the U.S. SR-71 reconnaissance aircraft as a red herring to hide the blunders of Air Force intelligence over its exaggerated claims for the Soviet MIG-25 interceptor. The facts cannot be denied, and General Keegan has not tried to do so, that the MIG-25 is still another demonstration of inferior Soviet technology.

Its high altitude capability is only useful against the type of bombers the U.S. decided never to deploy long before the MIG-25 came into being. For many years, our strategic plans called for our bombers to penetrate the Soviet Union at low altitudes because they were not ready, even in the absence of the MIG-25, sitting ducks for Soviet air defenses.

True, we have the high altitude SR-71 reconnaissance plane, but ever since 1969 when the U-2 was shot down and a major international flap ensued, the U.S. has not used overflying aircraft to get intelligence on the Soviet Union. Instead, we have much more satisfactory reconnaissance satellites, which can photograph most of the Soviet Union in a single day and can provide high resolution pictures of oil ex-

posed military targets. In the ABM treaty, the U.S.S.R. has agreed that such intelligence collection satellites are legal and must not be interfered with.

Thus, the MIG-25 is a white elephant of no value in repelling our bombers or opposing our intelligence collection. General Keegan is correct when he says that at least he has consistently failed to see what they could — or could not — do with technology he now admits to be inferior to our own.

Herbert Scoville Jr.
McLean, Va. Former Deputy Director, CIA

A vote for solar power

Thank you for Robert C. Cowen's excellent article called "Fusion: the world's ultimate energy source," which you printed in the issue of January 10, 1977.

I was dismayed to read that American scientists wish to spend \$15 billion by 1990 on developing a fusion process and that they are playing down the possibility of using solar power.

Solar power is truly available now in unlimited quantities and virtually for ever. It needs

only to be harnessed. Harnessing it so that it can be readily used by all the peoples of the earth will undoubtedly present enormous problems — but none that are insuperable. The needed advances in technology are surely less than those for the development of a fusion process which, as Mr. Cowen says, may take decades.

If the same amount of money is spent on harnessing solar power, I am confident that by the end of the century the world will have taken a giant step toward solving all its energy problems.

Herbert Scoville Jr.
McLean, Va. Former Deputy Director, CIA

Redundant workers

Perhaps Mr. Joe Atherton will tell us what to do about the 50 percent of the workers that the steel industry in Britain does not really need. (See his letter "Artificially Franchising Remedy's Dec. 20, column). Their dismissal might conceivably result in harder work from those retained, but the redundant would then do nothing at all, and no doubt, be labelled — at all events — by Mr. Atherton as lazy.

Is it not true, that the more efficient any capitalist enterprise becomes, the — of course ignoring any social implications — the fewer workers it will need? And is it not foolish to time when thousands of workers are being dismissed, to talk of people being lazy?

Mr. Arnold Weinstein claimed a year or so ago that he raised the annual profits of A.E.C. of wholesale dismissals and closures of subsidiary companies. He did not appear to be concerned with what happened to those he got rid of.

Viewing the game from the sidelines, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Weinstein, and in addition, foreign observers, that much of the trouble is due to incompetent management and poor planning.

Burly St. Edmunds, Suffolk
I've had the readers' letters for this column, and we cannot answer every one, but I thought we would publish a selection of them. The letters should be addressed to: The Editor, Christian Science Monitor, 210 North Washington Street, Boston, MA 02111.

COMMENTARY

With India's opposition party

By K. R. Sundar Rajan

Wearing a freshly starched "Gandhi cap," Mr. Mohan Dharma sat in the crowded sitting room of his brother's house in south Bombay. He had a long list of telephone numbers in front of him.

"My job is to raise funds for the opposition People's Party to fight the coming election," said Mr. Dharma, a former minister in Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government.

"So far this morning I have contacted some 50 sources. All I got was a promise of less than \$1,500. This is peanuts when you think of the formidable challenge before us."

A few months before she clamped down a state of emergency in June, 1975, Mrs. Gandhi dismissed Mr. Dharma. He had called for talks between the government and Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, the pacifist statesman and principal critic of the ruling Congress Party.

Later, Mr. Dharma was arrested for making a strong anti-government speech in parliament. He was released a few days ago after more than a year in Nasik Central Prison, 120 miles from Bombay.

"There's no money even for making long-distance calls," the People's Party politician said. "But we will manage somehow, even if it means going from village to village on foot or bicycle."

Informed observers estimate that the Congress Party has built up a sizable election fund in the last six months. One source said: "The party is flush with money. In this election, it will have the solid backing of almost all the

leading industrialists and former maharajas (princes)."

A spokesman of the Bombay unit of the Congress Party denied published reports that the party has collected enormous funds from businessmen, landlords, and the film industry. But he admitted that "the question of money does not unduly worry us at the moment."

Lack of funds is not the only difficulty facing opposition groups as the campaign for the mid-March polling, perhaps the most crucial in the country's post-independence history, gathers momentum. The government has made it clear that the state-owned radio and television networks are not going to hold the scales even between the Congress Party and the opposition. In fact, almost all the opposition parties have complained bitterly of partisan coverage of the campaign by radio and television.

The government has also been cool to suggestions that radio and television should be thrown open to election debates and that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and People's Party Chairman Morarji Desai should conduct an "American-style" TV debate.

In a country where illiteracy still runs around 70 to 80 percent in most areas, and the printed word reaches only a small minority of educated people, the radio is the most potent propaganda weapon. With transistor radios selling at competitive prices — one manufacturer has advertised a single-hand radio for just \$8 — there is little doubt that the Congress Party's campaign message will reach the remotest and poorest rural homes, while the fledgling People's Party, which consists of the

main non-Communist opposition groups, has to make do with hastily printed leaflets and door-to-door campaigns.

Another massive advantage the Indian ruling party has is the limitless availability of government cars, planes, helicopters and other transportation for ministers and their followers. When Jawaharlal Nehru was prime minister, the convention depriving ministers of state facilities during elections was strictly enforced.

"This is no longer the case. In fact, Congress Party leaders have been using even military aircraft for party purposes — a misuse which has provoked sharp criticism even from politicians belonging to the pro-administration Communist Party of India (CPI)."

Opposition groups also express the fear that the government may use the vast police force in "terrorize" voters into backing the Congress Party. The Marxist Communist Party (CPM) has already complained of "systematic intimidation" in the rural areas of West Bengal state.

But the fear of police terror and intimidation by the vast army of government workers may be exaggerated. One reason for this, as Mr. Morarji Desai and others have admitted, is that the civil service does not appear to be enthusiastic about doing the dirty job for the ruling party.

As one government official in Poona county in western India told this correspondent: "Why should we go out of our way to help rig the election? If we do so, we will only invite terrible retribution if the opposition manages to seize power in the battle of the ballot box."

One handicap which the government appears to have deliberately placed in the path of the opposition parties pertains to the tortuously slow pace of prison releases. Many top-ranking opposition politicians have been set free as long as three weeks after the January 18 election announcement of the prime minister. What is worse, an estimated 13,000 opposition workers will continue to languish in prison on the ground that the amnesty does not apply to "extremist" parties.

Despite all these adverse factors militating against a genuinely fair election, the mid-March balloting may provide adequate proof that India still remains the world's largest free nation. In the opinion of Mr. Kummilthadai Santhanam, a former cabinet minister and veteran of the freedom struggle, it is just not practicable to rig the election in a vast country like India.

He told me: "There may be rigging and intimidation here and there. But the very vastness of the electorate — 320 million — is a guarantee of fair elections."

All this apart, it will just not help the Congress Party to fix the election, in her struggle to legitimize her authority. Mrs. Gandhi knows that any suspicion that the polls may not be free and fair will only harm her image. And, despite the eclipse it suffered for 19 agonizing months, India's opposition has remarkably revived so as to be able to serve as a vigilant watchdog of possible government electoral malpractices.

Mr. Rajan is a former editorial writer for The Times of India.

Anglo-Irish relations: a touch of frost

By Francis Hony

While officials are grimly preparing for a new low in Britain's ever-delicate relations with the Republic of Ireland, the crisis is being precipitated partly by the Provisional IRA, partly by the historic lack of understanding between the two countries.

The recent conviction of the Provisionals killer squad captured in the Balcombe Street siege may yet be overruled by the IRA. The British government for its part, is incensed by the Republic's insistence on pursuing its torture case against Britain before the European Court.

The Dublin government is infuriated by Mr. Callaghan's public attack upon it for failing to sign the European anti-terrorist convention, and for leaning upon it to abandon the trial of the armed British patrol which layed across the Irish border. It all adds to a setback by several years.

Who remembers now the cordial exchange of visits between ministers that brought new

hope to Anglo-Irish relations barely two years ago?

The biggest single contribution to the gloom is the total absence today of any political initiative toward a solution of the Ulster problem. Power-sharing has been killed by the Protestants; the constitutional convention has been buried without ceremony. The Labour government has sent its former Defence Secretary, Mr. Mason, to pursue what appears to be a straight law-and-order policy in the province.

It is this absence of movement in Northern Ireland itself which has convinced the terrorist movement that London no longer cares what happens to Ulster people, or even to its own troops, and that the only way of shifting the British is to take the fight back to their own territory.

London is all the less inclined to make concessions following the police success in breaking the Balcombe Street gang, probably the IRA's most callous and successful murder squad. Scotland Yard's victory was built from

equal parts of skill and flashes of incompetence by the terrorists. The Balcombe Street gang, it is clear, had learned a good deal from the mistakes of earlier killer squads. In particular, it gave very little away to the resident Irish community in London. But it still had its fatal moments of carelessness — often due to an Irish fondness for the bottle.

It may even be that Britain's police have already succeeded in smashing the first wave of reprisals for the Balcombe Street convictions. The Oxford Street fire-bombings were followed by some rapid arrests in Liverpool, and the seizure there of incendiary materials.

But information reaching British intelligence agents in Dublin indicate that such arrests are in fact stimulating recruitment in the Republic. The 30-year jail sentences now being specifically sought to carry out revenge missions.

More than half of them are said to be coming from Belfast to training schools in the Republic. For the ugly fact is, six years of living within earshot of British Army boots has bred

a new generation of Republicans in whom "the war" is a way of life. Some of them have had no civilian employment at all: even as schoolchildren they have been in the pay of the IRA. Much of the money comes from the United States, Libya and shadowy "people's liberation" funds.

It is important to remember that the government of the Irish Republic has to face General Elections within the next year. That is why Prime Minister Cosgrave has not been able to make what London regards as gentlemanly concessions by not prosecuting the wandering patrol and not pressing the European torture case, once Britain has apologized for both.

It seems to Dublin the final proof of British insensitivity that Mr. Callaghan should taunt Ireland with failure to endorse the anti-terrorism Convention.

The Irish cabinet issued a terse statement that its determination to deal with terrorism was "well-known and needs no further elaboration." Government spokesmen pointed out that new penalties for terrorism had just been introduced by the Republic, and that it was now possible for Irishmen to be tried in the Republic for terrorist acts committed elsewhere — if only Britain would forward the necessary dossiers.

In any case, say Irish politicians, why should the Republic be bullied into adopting one convention when Britain had been violating another — that on Human Rights? And don't the British realize that nothing more could be done by the Republic without amending the Constitution on political offences? Does Britain really expect an Irish government to go to the people saying "Help us to help the British?"

What all of these arguments reveal is the inability — innocent though it may be — of the English in particular to appreciate the national spirit of the Irish, or their sense of history. Much the same could be said of the English attitude toward Scotland and Wales. Almost nothing nowadays seems to offend the English sense of patriotism, and an Englishman tend to imagine nobody else has such a sense either.

At its best this is English tolerance; at its worst, insensitivity. So far there has hardly been a tremor of hostility shown toward the Irish community in London. But that does not mean, in Irish eyes, that the British government has the right to threaten or insult its opposite number in Dublin, or to imagine that Dublin does not carry a heavy burden of violence, wherever they may tell.

Carter and religion

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Among the public at large the questions reporters heard most often about Jimmy Carter during the campaign were variations of the following: (a) how religious is he? and (b) how will his religious commitment shape his presidency?

No one who reads Mr. Carter's autobiography "Why Not the Best?" can escape the conclusion that the new President is desirous of bringing God into his own life and into the life of others.

Beyond church-going, Sunday school teaching, and, sometimes, preaching, Mr. Carter has gone on numerous "missions" or "visits for God" in which he has sought to impart God's love to those in need.

Beyond that, too, Mr. Carter has told us (and this he doesn't volunteer; he answers about his religious life only when he is questioned) that he prays many times a day.

Actually we do not find, even among the most cynical members of the press, those who question Mr. Carter's religious sincerity. Some scoff at Mr. Carter's expressions of religious faith. But we hear no one say, "He's a phony." Or "He's doing this for effect — because he knows there are votes in it." But the questions persist, from among public

and press alike, as to how Mr. Carter's religious zeal will shape his approach to running the country. Again, there are some very helpful clues in Mr. Carter's own book.

Mr. Carter tells in "Why Not the Best?" of a religious mission he participated in among the Spanish-speaking families in a ghetto area of a New England city. He says he worked alongside a Cuban Christian named Eloy Cruz.

"I asked him," writes Carter, "how a tough and rugged man like him could be so sensitive, kind, and filled with love. He was embarrassed by my question, but finally blurted out an answer — 'our Savior has hands that are very gentle, and he cannot do much with a man who is hard.'"

Mr. Carter writes of this experience: "I thought about this often as Governor of Georgia. How can we combine the competent and efficient management of taxpayers' money with this sensitive and effective service needed to alleviate affliction and to enhance the development and use of the capabilities of our most needy citizens?"

Mr. Carter goes on to the importance of distinguishing between potentially productive social service recipients, which he would train and "those who are permanently and inher-

ently dependent on government services." He adds:

"We also should not underestimate the personal ability and obligation of private citizens to minister to those who are in need. There has been an excessive inclination to wash our hands of this responsibility, and to assume that government alone can deal with the problems of the poor and afflicted."

Mr. Carter has been in the presidency for only about a month, but he already is moving in directions that are being interpreted as outward expressions of his religious thinking.

Foreign Policy: Mr. Carter has written, "There is no need for lying. Our best national defense is in the truth." We have seen this approach in the President's frank, open communications with the Soviets.

Setting an example: Mr. Carter definitely sees a president as having the responsibility of improving the moral fiber of America as a whole and of Americans as individuals.

He is showing his opposition to the alcohol drug problem by not serving hard liquor in the White House.

And to show all Americans that he means it when he talks about "brotherly love," he is sending daughter Amy to a public school that is predominantly nonwhite.